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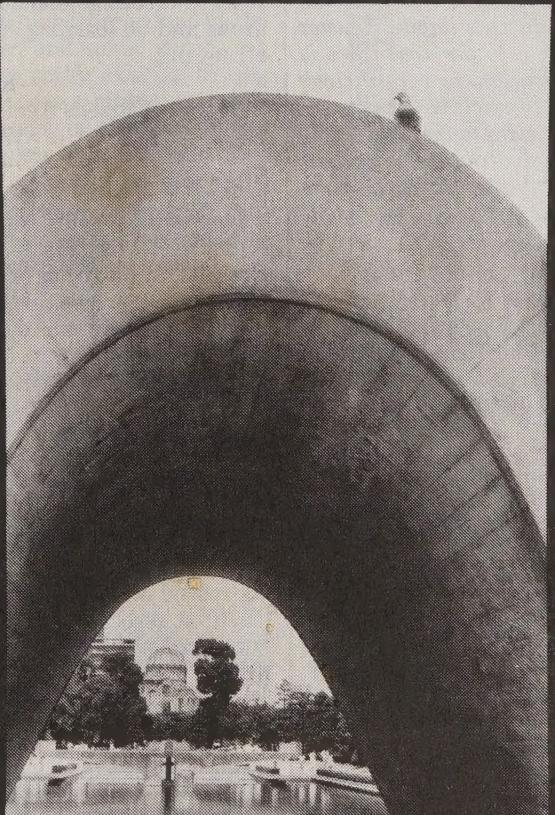
TIMES

JULY/AUGUST 1985 • \$2.50

7/25/85

Special Issue

HIROSHIMA-



NAGASAKI
DAYS



Weapons
Workers
At Risk

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18

MX Stopped
■ Page 8

The Bluff
Factor

By Daniel Ellsberg

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Joan Kroc:
Peace To Go

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Prince Makes
Doves Cry

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Letters

Better Ted Than Dead

In the "Blips" section of the May-June issue there is a short news blurb on Ted Turner's latest antinuclear effort, a special called *Visions*. Regrettably, some member of your staff editorialized by inserting "bad boy" as an adjectival phrase in front of Mr. Turner's name. I am not sure of the writer's intent, thought, or inside joke, if there is one. This type of baiting and sniping at our allies in the struggle to rid the world of a nuclear future which will surely mean death seems out of place in NUCLEAR TIMES.

—Rocky Wade
Atlanta, Ga.

Latest from Ted Turner: On June 11 he announced the formation of the Better World Society, which will produce "global television programming" about the environment and nuclear arms control, among other subjects. "All the solutions are readily available," Turner said. "The solution to the arms race is 'Stop it'; the solution to the nuclear threat is 'Get rid of nuclear weapons.' Turner also criticized advertisers who avoid programs dealing with nuclear destruction but "don't have a problem sponsoring 'Dynasty' when the whole cast gets blown away." —Eds.

Run-on Sentence

I am always awed, amazed and energized by stories like that of the "Silo Pruning Hooks" [May-June 1985]. However, this time I was also sickened and disheartened by the sheer viciousness of the sentences they have received. Prosecutor Ulrich would have liked to send Woodson, Morgan, and the Kabats to prison for life, according to your article. No doubt, if there was an applicable law carrying the death penalty, he would have pushed for that instead. Help your readers to do something besides nurse bitterness about this judiciary atrocity, and supply the address of the judge so that we can write and urge reduction of the sentences. Also, if there is a legal support fund for the Pruning Hooks, supply its address—so we can put our money where our collective mouth is.

—Larry Clifford
Blairstown, N.J.

Judge D. Brooks Bartlett may be reached at U.S. District Courthouse Room 654, 811 Grand Ave., Kansas City, MO 64106. Legal support contributions can be sent to the Gaudete Peace and Justice Center, 634 Spruce St., Madison, WI 53715. —Eds.

Bridge Partners

The article "Arms Control: It's Academic?" in the May-June issue describing a meeting between Harvard academics and peace movement leaders asks the question "how useful is this sort of exchange in the long run?" In the article's answer to that question the reader is left with more of a feeling of polarization than is warranted for "the long run." One point that was overlooked is that by no means do all academics shy away from participating in the political debate at the citizen action level. Many, such as Richard Garwin, Sidney Drell, Henry Kendall, Betty Lall and Jerome Weisner, to name just a few, recognize that the debates over Star Wars and a Comprehensive Test Ban, for example, are more political than technical and require mobilizing an informed citizenry. These and others are building an important bridge between traditional academia and the concerned public.

We needn't agree totally on each other's agendas to work together successfully in those areas where there is agreement. Future meetings should focus on these areas and on learning from each others' strengths.

—Karen Mulhauser
Citizens Against Nuclear War
Washington, D.C.

Freeze Frame

Regarding your comments on the April Actions [May-June '85]: The Freeze Campaign has only itself to blame for its low profile in press coverage. Throughout the months preceding the rallies the only information provided grass-roots freeze activists was on the Lobby Day (April 22). Little promotion of the April 20 rally and April 22 CD actions was forthcoming. Why no effort by the Freeze Campaign nationally? Was it because of the multi-issue nature of the April Actions? The Freeze activists assembled at the last national conference addressed other issues. We must recognize that associating diverse issues does not mean abandoning our own causes.

—Robert Magee
Cherry Hill, N.J.

NOTE TO SUBSCRIBERS

With this issue NUCLEAR TIMES begins publishing on a six times a year (bi-monthly) basis. The size of each issue has been increased and new features are being introduced. Those who subscribed previously for one year will receive 10 issues, as scheduled.

Send letters to NUCLEAR TIMES, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10001.

EARLY WARNINGS

GETTING TESTY: What happens to the campaign to stop all nuclear weapons testing by August 6 when August 7 comes? Unless one of the superpowers announces a unilateral halt to underground nuclear blasts some Comprehensive Test Ban campaigners will start planning for August 6, 1986. "There is always an August 6th—if it is not this year, it is the next year," Representative Pat Schroeder told NUCLEAR TIMES. Schroeder has authored the Simultaneous Nuclear Test-Ban Act which would cut testing funds if the President does not attempt to initiate a U.S.-Soviet testing ban on August 6.

Center for Defense Information Director Gene LaRocque helped draft the Schroeder bill and calls it a bill "with teeth." Greenpeace, Physicians for Social Responsibility, and the Freeze Campaign, three leading organizations of the CTB campaign, are supporting the Bedell-Leach "H.J. Res. 3," which builds on a similar measure passed by the Senate last year, and would simply ask the President to ratify existing testing treaties and propose a mutual moratorium. After passage of the non-binding resolution lobbyists would pursue "fencing funding" or some kind of cutoff.

Although Schroeder aides and anti-nuclear advocates say they support both bills, off the record the two groups are clearly miffed. "It is almost like the peace groups are playing king, deciding which bills should live," says a Schroeder backer. Antinuclear lobbyists say the Schroeder move caught them off guard and is counter-productive because it is not feasible. "Schroeder is in a very hostile committee [Armed Services] and her bill could die there," says one lobbyist, adding: "It is a disaster to go from one bill to another because you alienate the leaders who stuck their neck out on the first one." A Schroeder aide argues that grass-roots activists want legislation they can believe in, whether it is feasible or not. One lobbyist replies: "The grass-roots do not want to see us beating our heads continually against a brick wall."

REAGAN'S CAMELOT?: The Reagan Administration might have a problem with its Star Wars program: One of its components may work *too* well. Of the several technological options that the Strategic Defense Initiative is exploring the one that weapons planners appear to be having the best luck with is the X-ray laser, which is generated by a nuclear explosion. On March 23, precisely two years after Reagan's Star Wars speech, a successful X-ray laser

test was conducted at the Nevada Test Site. Code-named the "Cottage" test—each test is named after a cheese—this nuclear explosion reportedly produced X-rays of a higher brightness and better definition than obtained previously. "This is a problem for the Administration," says John Pike, the head of space policy for the Federation of American Scientists. "You have a non-nuclear program, and its most successful compo-

with its allies, or deploys it in space, will it violate the Non-Proliferation Treaty? Hans Bethe, a Manhattan Project physicist and Nobel laureate, warns that because the Super Excalibur will require extensive underground testing of nuclear explosives, "the X-ray laser program will strengthen the hand of those who oppose a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty."

RISKY BUSINESS: A new report from the Environmental Policy Institute in Washington, D.C. reveals that nuclear weapons workers face a risk of dying



HIROSHIMA/NAGASAKI: Remains in light, from a poster by Talking Heads' leader David Byrne. Coverage begins on page 11. (Poster courtesy of David Byrne)

ment is a hydrogen bomb."

Despite the political problems posed, the Administration seems committed to the X-ray laser, which has been dubbed Super Excalibur. Following the March test, Administration officials have been mentioning the X-ray laser more frequently. "The Strategic Defense Initiative," says Eric Fersht, Greenpeace disarmament director, "increasingly looks like it is going the nuclear route."

The early success of the X-ray laser may lead to some treaty problems. If the United States shares this technology

from cancer that is 50 to 500 percent greater than that of the general public. Released in June, the report is based on Department of Energy (DoE) health surveys at more than 10 nuclear facilities obtained by EPI's Robert Alvarez, through Congress and the Freedom of Information Act (see related story, page 18).

The report has found that some 600,000 workers exposed to radiation during the production of nuclear weapons since World War II suffer above-average rates of fatal cancers and other diseases.

Technicians at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory suffer from three to four times as much skin cancer compared to other Californians. At the Rocky Flats plutonium trigger plant near Denver, Colorado, the DoE found an eightfold increase in brain tumors and an almost threefold increase in skin cancer compared to the number occurring in the general population. Another DoE study found that the risk of dying from radiation-induced cancer among workers at the Hanford Reservation in Washington state is 10 to 30 times greater than current protection standards assume. Alvarez released additional DoE findings that showed above-average cancer rates at South Carolina's Savannah River plant (lung cancer and leukemia), Tennessee's Oak Ridge National Lab (leukemia), and Oak Ridge Y-12 weapons plant (brain tumors, leukemia).

"Having the DoE protect workers is like having the Hell's Angels enforce the speed limit on California highways," Alvarez charges. "The DoE is sitting on a nationwide health problem among their workers. They don't want to let it out because they're afraid they'll have to spend millions of dollars to make plants safer. And they're afraid that people who have accepted DoE activities in their

communities for years are going to reject them." A DoE spokesman told NUCLEAR TIMES that the Department rejects the claims of this study because it is based on "preliminary data."

MEET THE PRESS: Peace issues, more often than not, are ignored by the national media and there is a growing acknowledgement within the antinuclear community that one reason for this is that the movement lacks a national strategy for presenting issues to the American public. But the latest project of the Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) Education Fund, "The National Communication Strategy for Nuclear Disarmament," may change that.

WAND, along with Marttila & Kiley Inc., a marketing and strategic planning firm (whose political clients have included Senators Gary Hart and John Kerry and Representative Edward Markey), and a staff of 12 full- and part-time consultants, are meticulously examining methods of working with the press. They are conducting public opinion polls and conferring with key decision-makers in major news organizations to discover how issues are covered and how editorial decisions are made. They will also study how the Administration handles the

media, and ask 30 to 40 congresspersons how to bring public policy issues to the people. The results of the nonpartisan research will be shared with the public. Leaders in the movement are invited to participate in developing a plan to deal with national and local media. "We hope to present benchmark material," says 44-year-old John Marttila, a partner in the firm.

PEACE-MAN: The country's leaders stare into the glow of their monitors. Far away, another nation's actions threaten an uneasy peace. Will the countries go to war? Or will they bridge their differences? "This is the first computer game that takes seriously the idea of conflict resolution," says 35-year-old Tom Snyder, creator of *The Other Side*. "Other games say they are going to, but it always turns out they are war games."

The Other Side is an educational software game that pits two nations—groups of players, junior high school age on up—against one another with the common goal of building a unifying bridge. From different terminals, even from different locations connected by cable or telephone modem, the players explore means of resolving differences. "Conflict resolution is more complicated than anything I can imagine," says Snyder.

Nuclear Fallacies

How We Have Been Misguided since Hiroshima

Robert W. Malcolmson

In a thoughtful and dispassionate reflection on the nuclear arms issue, Malcolmson identifies a number of fallacies in Western society's collective thinking.

Fallacy: the military really does not want a nuclear war on any scale

Fallacy: deterrence is an effective strategy in preventing nuclear conflict

Fallacy: United States nuclear superiority in the Cold War prevented a Soviet takeover of the West

One by one Malcolmson disproves these myths. The truth of the nuclear arms issue emerges as a disturbingly different reality from what Western society believes.

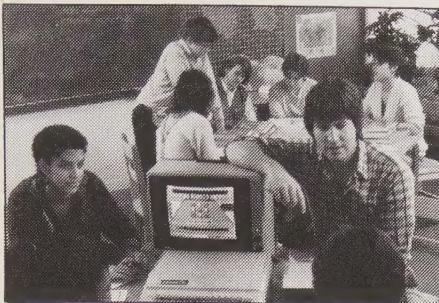
'One of the most refreshing essays I have read. It confronts many of the basic difficult issues straight on and deals with them knowledgeably... raises fundamental questions and answers them perceptively.'

— Martin Sherwin, Tufts University, author of *A World Destroyed: The Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance*.

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Snyder and friends computing solutions

der, a parent and teacher.

Members of Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR) who have played *The Other Side*, including Executive Director Tony Wagner, are enthusiastic. "We loved it," says Charlotte Keys, ESR's services coordinator—enough to distribute 10,000 brochures to its membership promoting the game and to invite Snyder to lead a workshop at its national meeting. This fall, Snyder's company will release IBM and Commodore versions of *The Other Side* (it's now only in Apple), but Snyder already has some interested customers. "The Pentagon bought a copy," he says. "I'd love to see them playing this game." Copies of *The Other Side* are available for \$89.95 from Tom Snyder Productions, Inc., 123 Mt. Auburn St., Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 876-4433.

ALL THIS & SALT II: When President Reagan announced on June 10 that the United States would continue to honor provisions of the SALT II treaty, arms control advocates breathed a sigh of relief. So when the *U.S.S. Alaska*, the seventh Trident ballistic missile submarine, puts to sea in October, the United States will dismantle a Poseidon submarine to ensure the U.S. arsenal does

not rise above the number of missile launchers permitted by SALT II. While declaring this a victory for the arms control community, Thomas Longstreth, an analyst at the Arms Control Association, warns "this issue will not go away."

Come November, the Pentagon will issue a report on Soviet treaty compliance and Soviet behavior at the bargaining table, as well as proposals for a U.S. response. (Reagan's SALT II statement reserves for the United States the right to take "proportionate responses to Soviet noncompliance.") The various proposals the Pentagon pressed regarding U.S. adherence to SALT II—such as casting the treaty aside—could re-emerge. Also, the scheduled deployment of air-launched cruise missiles next year will again force the Administration to confront the issue of SALT II adherence.

BEATING THE SPREAD: Antinuclear groups are planning to use the upcoming Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference in Geneva to put pressure on the superpowers for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). Representatives of Greenpeace attended the Review Conference preparatory session and circulated to over 50 delegations proposals on specific actions that can be taken in support of a CTB. One of the most innovative proposals calls for an amendment conference of the Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT), which could turn the LTBT into a CTBT. (Support from only 38 of the 112 parties to the LTBT is needed to call such a conference.)

Parliamentarians for World Order is working behind-the-scenes on CTB proposals, and Physicians for Social Responsibility is launching a letter-writing campaign aimed at foreign governments to urge attendance at the

Blips

On July 16, the 40th anniversary of the **Trinity** test, the **Union of Concerned Scientists** will release a report and film on technology and the arms race, and a group of Manhattan Project scientists will brief Congress and the press **John Hersey** returned to **Hiroshima** in May and will write an article and book about it A bad sign: Key senators have promised to provide funds to erect a new building in **Geneva** to house the **U.S. arms negotiators** in comfort A **nuclear free zone proposal** will be introduced in the **Iowa** legislature next year. Organizers in **Oregon** will begin circulating petitions this fall to get a statewide NFZ initiative on the ballot in November 1986 **Turner Broadcasting** will soon begin showing news and entertainment programs from the Soviet Union. TBS will also produce a six-hour "Portrait of the Soviet Union" to be shown in both countries. **The New Yorker** never makes factual errors? In its recent Daniel Ford articles on "The Button," the magazine placed the famous "Coca Cola" scene from **Dr. Strangelove** in England, not the American midwest A legal scholars' conference on presidential first-use will be sponsored this fall by the **Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control** and the **Federation of American Scientists** **Robert Rauschenberg** has embarked on a five-year, 22-country exhibition of his works "to promote world peace and understanding through art" Hosted by **Peace Links**, 15 guests from the Soviet Women's Committee will tour 14 U.S. cities this October After several years of effort at the grassroots, Congress may be close to approving a National Peace Day for the first Monday in August Rodney Barker's book, **Hiroshima Maidens**, will be published by Viking Press in August.

USSR Foreign Policies After Detente

Richard F. Staar

According to V.V. Zagladin, one of Moscow's leading ideologists, the "historic mission" of the USSR has three aspects: to build communism in the USSR, to assist countries already following the communist path, and to support "social progress" toward communism in *all* other countries. Largely based on primary sources in the Russian language, this volume presents the people, policies, and practices of recent Soviet foreign policies.

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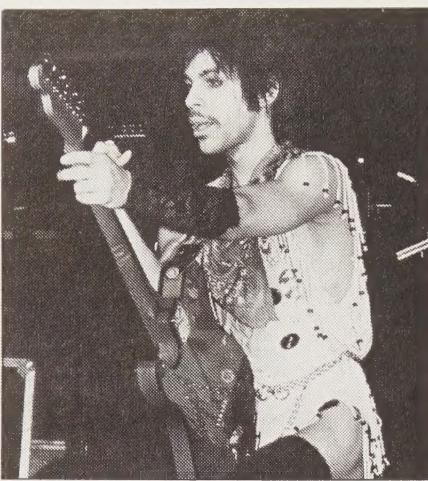


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conference, which begins on August 27. The Freeze Campaign is organizing an International Conference on a Nuclear Weapons Freeze Proposal to take place on September 3-4 in Geneva. And the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is concluding a petition drive by presenting an estimated 200,000 signatures from the United States calling for a CTB—as well as signatures from 25 other countries—at the opening of the conference. Despite the activity, organizers at both Greenpeace and PSR had expected greater involvement by peace groups. "I think it is a missed opportunity for some groups," says Greenpeace Disarmament Director Eric Fersht.

How will the United States respond in Geneva to pressure on the CTB? "The Comprehensive Test Ban doesn't strike at the most dramatic problem, which is the large numbers of nuclear weapons," Ambassador Lewis Dunn, who will direct the U.S. delegation at the conference, told NUCLEAR TIMES.

PRINCE OF DARKNESS: Five years ago the political climate in America started moving to the right. Now pop culture seems to be catching up. June's top-grossing film was Sylvester Stallone's super-patriotic epic *Rambo*, and the



Prince: Comic book philosopher

worst is yet to come. Many theaters ran trailers for Stallone's forthcoming *Rocky IV*, which features a bout between our hero and a Soviet champion. "Get ready for the next world war," the preview's voiceover declares.

Meanwhile, Prince was predictably topping the record charts last month with his seventh album, *Around the World in a Day*. The song "America" features a refrain lifted from the national anthem, a warning of a communist takeover, and Jimmy Nothing, a schoolboy

who refuses to pledge allegiance. "Nothing made Jimmy proud," sings Prince. "Now Jimmy lives on a mushroom cloud." Was Prince inferring that those who don't wave flags will bring on a nuclear war? "That interpretation is not farfetched," says John Kordosh, associate editor of *Creem*, a rock journal. Others, citing references to dropping the bomb in his album *1999*, have interpreted Prince's "purple rain" motif as a metaphor for radioactive fallout from an impending nuclear war. And Prince (who has not been interviewed in three years) told Chris Salewitz of the *New Musical Express* in 1981 that politicians, "who are all going to die soon," are prepared to start "a war they don't have to go out and fight. Thank God we got a better president now with bigger balls than Carter. I think Reagan's a lot better. Just for the power he represents, if nothing else."

Critics are unimpressed with Prince's forays into nuclear politics. "Prince's political philosophy is an incantatory message that he read about in a comic book," says John Swenson, co-author of *The Rolling Stone Record Guide*.

Items for this section were contributed by David Corn, Kris Fischer, Susan Jaffe, Douglas Lavin, Alex Miller and Christopher Phelps.



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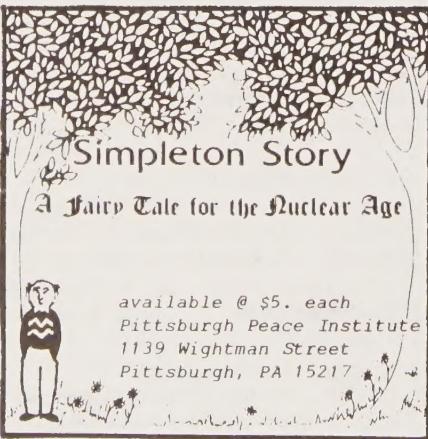
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Blue~Prints

Studies, Proposals & Brainstorms



Last January when the MacArthur Foundation announced its three-year, \$25 million International Security grant program the Chicago-based foundation, in one fell swoop, almost doubled the funding available for independent research in this arena.

The program was researched for two years under the chairmanship of McGeorge Bundy, former assistant to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. This research stage, which focused on "current international security programs and needs," was undertaken by prominent members of academia, including Sidney Drell of Stanford, George Rathjens of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Seweryn Bialer of Columbia, John Steinbruner of the Brookings Institution, and Richard Solomon of the Rand Corporation. It was therefore not surprising that the heaviest MacArthur funding eventually went to academia, and in particular to the institutions with which those members were affiliated. (The largest single grant—\$1,500,000 over five years—went to Brookings to support a network of security scholars.)

It was also not surprising, however, that people who were working in a more politically active way on security issues asked, "Why not us?" A new report on philanthropy from the Forum Institute in Washington, D.C., based on surveys of the funding and arms control communities, describes some of the most common criticisms (from public interest advocates) of academic programs: new ideas are unlikely to come from staid universities; college programs have high overhead; foundation grants are concentrated on schools with extensive Defense Department contracts; research and analysis have little impact without citizen involvement.

Several funders, on the other hand, question the effectiveness of some public education efforts, according to the Forum Institute report, or suggest that they offer "glib, partisan, and dangerously simplistic solutions to extraordinarily complex problems."

A recent check of some of the MacArthur grant recipients provides a few clues to this program's general direction.

First comes the overriding emphasis on interdisciplinary study. The foundation has given the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in New York the task of administering a \$6,240,000, five-year program of pre- and post-doctoral

fellowships to be awarded to applicants studying in a broad range of fields, both in this country and abroad. The foundation is also funding interdisciplinary study through its grants to universities. At both Harvard and Stanford substantial portions of the money are to be spent on fellowships for graduate students working in diverse fields. At Harvard the money will also be used to support a Society of Fellows dedicated to international studies, and to strengthen the journal, *International Security*. The Rand Corporation plans to use its



TB

\$100,000-a-year grant to pay for fellowship training at the Rand-UCLA Center for the Study of Soviet International Behavior at Santa Monica, California.

Among the non-academic recipients, however, the emphasis seems to be on public education. At the Committee for National Security (CNS) in Washington, D.C., the \$50,000 annual grant will largely be used to send CNS board members to local communities to speak about defense spending and other issues and to meet with editors of local newspapers and appear on talk shows. The Public Agenda Foundation in New York will use its \$50,000-a-year grant money to continue its work on public responses to nuclear policy, an effort begun in 1984 with its influential study, *Voter Options on Nuclear Policy*. "The politicians get option papers," says Executive Director Robert Kingston. "We think the public should be informed of all the possible options as well." The Foreign Policy Association (FPA) in New York will use its grant to hold public debates on such issues as the Strategic Defense Initiative. In addition, the grant will support publication of security topics in FPA's

widely-distributed "Great Decisions" series.

Although the MacArthur grants were not awarded on the basis of financial need, comparison of two recipients with budgets of very different size reveals the different impacts of equivalent grants.

The Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), which is home turf to such strategic theorists as Eugene Rostow and Walter Slocombe, runs on an annual budget of \$8 million. CSIS Director of Development James Brasher explains that a percentage of the \$100,000 MacArthur grant will be used, as stipulated, to fund fellowships. The balance, however, will be used to "fill in" around larger grants from foundations such as Carnegie, Ford, Mellon and Pew.

By contrast, Jeremy Stone, director of the Federation of American Scientists (FAS), one of the few small, activist organizations to receive MacArthur money, plans to spend the \$100,000 annual grant on salaries for four new positions—including a Latin American specialist and senior official to act as a specialist on arms control.

The MacArthur program is bound to produce an abundance of interesting research and public education over the next three years. But one observer, a director of a public interest group active in this field, regrets the lack of balance. "There's an enormous missing link between universities on the one hand, and the government on the other," this director says. "And that missing link, which is like a conveyor belt in both directions, is the public interest groups, which explain to the government and the public what the universities have learned, and tell the universities what the government is saying." Without that conveyor belt, suggests this observer, academic research cannot be circulated through the greater society.

Despite this, public interest groups continue to be the most underfunded sector. Nevertheless, this same observer admits that among the larger foundations, MacArthur is "an absolute pioneer in giving to public interest groups at all."

—Corinna Gardner

BLUEPRINTS • BRIEFS

New York University, with a \$250,000 grant from the Carnegie Corporation, has established the nation's first Center for the Study of War, Peace and the News Media "Reducing the Risk of Nuclear War," a 64-page report put out by the Center for Strategic and International Studies at **Georgetown University**, is a "consensus" document forged by two dozen participants, including Rep. Les Aspin, Henry Kissinger, Paul Doty, Eugene Rostow and Geraldine Ferraro. It urges the United States to consider limits on ASATs and abide by SALT II but urges continuation of major weapons systems under development The **Nuclear Control Institute** in Washington, D.C. will be circulating reports from its June 24-25 conference, "International Terrorism: The Nuclear Dimension" The **Roosevelt Center** in Washington, D.C. is launching a major public education project on proliferation with a 10-city speakers' tour and release in August of a primer, "Who'll Stop the Bomb?", co-authored by the Center's Roger Molander and published by Facts on File.

NUNN ESSENTIAL

Putting A Lid On MX

Is the MX saga finally drawing to a close? On June 18, the House of Representatives voted 233 to 184 to place a cap on the weapon system and to cut off funding for further missile production.

The limits on the MX system came in the form of an amendment sponsored by Representatives Nicholas Mavroules (who has opposed the missile) and Dave McCurdy (who has supported it). Support for the measure was fueled by sentiment on the Hill that the MX matter should be decided once and for all. The Mavroules-Mccurdy amendment applied a statutory cap on the MX system at 40 deployed missiles. The Pentagon's original request was for the deployment of 200 missiles.

Following the House vote, the fate of the MX (as well as funding for space weapons) was transferred to the House-Senate conference that is supposed to iron out the differences between the Pentagon authorization bills passed by each chamber. In May, the Senate confirmed a deal struck between Senator Sam Nunn, the influential ranking Democrat on the Armed Services Committee, and the White House. The Senate measure provided for a *temporary* limit of 50 deployed missiles and allowed the production of 12 new missiles. (Congress had already approved 42 missiles.)

The House measure differs not only in numbers, but in the nature of the cap. The ceiling proposed by the House is permanent; before more than 40 missiles could be deployed the statute would have to be repealed.

The House-Senate conference this summer will have to work out the final measure. As the House vote approached, MX opponents and anti-MX lobbyists discussed the need to place pressure on Representative Les Aspin, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, to adopt a strong position in the upcoming conference. (Aspin supported the Mavroules-Mccurdy amendment.) One House aide reports that MX opponents hoped to see Mavroules selected as one of the House delegates to the conference.

If the conference backs the Mavroules-Mccurdy amendment, the end may be in sight. Administration officials, however, say they will come back next year and seek support for a 100-missile system. If a statutory cap is in place, the White House will face a tough obstacle.



Senator Nunn: Feather in his cap

"If there is a permanent cap at 40," says Jay Hedlund, a lobbyist for Common Cause, which has participated in the anti-MX effort, "that brings the Pentagon's original request down to only 20 percent and sharply alters the first-strike nature of the system. This would be the first time a president was ever denied a weapon system he wanted... it would show you can beat them."

But another new missile lurks on the horizon. "There is a future for land-based missiles," Aspin said last month. "It's, of course, Midgetman." And, as if to compensate for halting the MX, the House approved funds for Trident II the following day, with the opposition actually losing votes since last year (79 vs. 95). "A lot of good people who know better went against us," said one lobbyist, citing Representatives Schroeder, Leach, Conte, Schneider, Carr, Feighan, and Oakar, among others.

—David Corn

LOCAL STRATEGY

Bringing SDI Down To Earth

Star Wars opponents are beginning to concentrate on activism at the grass roots, directing educational campaigns and protests at laboratories, universities, and weapons plants where Star Warriors—as *Newsweek* dubbed them—are doing their research.

This year's commencement at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) was attended by Darth Vader wearing a Star Wars blazon and holding out money to a leaping beaver, the MIT mascot. In his commencement address

MIT President Paul Gray spoke out against Strategic Defense Initiative officials who had used the fact that some MIT professors were conducting SDI research to imply institutional endorsement for SDI. Following a student-faculty protest and petition drive, the school has created a Committee on the Impact at MIT of Military Support for Research and Education. A report from the Committee is expected in the fall.

A day of protest was held this spring at the State University of New York at Buffalo, one of five schools to share a four-year \$19 million SDI research grant. "We hope this can be the issue that gets student activism rolling here again," says student organizer Kevin Jones. In defending the grants, University Provost William Greiner did not quite take the high moral ground. "The Medicis," Greiner told the protesters, "were not nice people, but they were patrons of the arts."

More than 500 scientists (including six Nobel laureates) at the California Institute of Technology (Caltech) and Jet Propulsion Laboratory have signed an anti-SDI petition. A Space Weapons Study Group at Caltech is campaigning against ASAT tests and the ABM treaty. And in mid-June, United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War (UCAM), a college peace network, decided at its national convention in Cleveland to take on SDI research on campuses next year.

Off-campus, weapons contractors are also coming under scrutiny. The Progressive Space Forum, a San Francisco-based anti-SDI group, is compiling a list of corporations doing SDI research, and urging activists to use the list to organize local protests and debates. "SDI has not really sparked a lot of protest yet," says Jim Heaphy, editor of the Forum's newsletter. But he points to protests at Livermore Lab in California and the recent STARS convention in Colorado (which was sparked by activists researching two local SDI labs) as hopeful signs.

Top defense contractors—Boeing, Lockheed, McDonnell Douglas, and LTV—are each getting over 10 percent of the SDI research fund, according to a new report on SDI contractors by the Council on Economic Priorities (CEP) in New York. (Boeing is tops with \$364,331,000 or 21.4 percent of the \$1.7 billion awarded.) The concentration of awards on top weapons contractors is not unusual: They have the expertise, CEP reports. But, CEP warns, some of those contracts are for feasibility studies, and contractors faced with earning a chunk of a possible \$1 trillion cost-plus contract

can be expected to find SDI *very* feasible.

Richard Garwin, a CEP adviser, points out that initial research on ICBMs in the 1950s was carried out by nonprofit outfits with no financial stake in the findings.

Another conflict of interest lies in the fact that about 77 percent of prime contracts in space defense since FY '83 were awarded to states or districts represented by House and Senate members who sit on the Armed Services Committees and Appropriations Defense subcommittees.

—Douglas Lavin

SWISS WATCH

Freeze Bounces Back With New Strategy

The Freeze Campaign is paying for its powerful successes in 1982. Since Election Day, and the arms control losses that followed, it has become fashionable—both within and outside the anti-nuclear movement—to declare that the freeze movement is washed up, that its focus is gone, that the grass roots are foundering, at sea, without direction. "The boulder of nuclear disarmament has fallen to the bottom of the hill again,"

Washington Post columnist Mary McGrory wrote recently, shaking her finger at the movement.

In addition to absorbing blame for the fact that millions of pro-freeze Americans voted for Ronald Reagan, the Freeze Campaign's national staff has been coping with the disruption of shifting its headquarters from St. Louis to Washington, D.C. Personnel were lost or shuffled to new positions. And to make matters worse, the Comprehensive Freeze Bill was meeting criticism and resistance on the Hill.

It comes as no surprise, then, that the strategy which emerged from the May National Committee meeting in Denver, Colorado, is designed to remobilize the grassroots and provide specific actions geared to a specific legislative agenda. Dubbed "Don't Just Talk: Freeze Now!" the new national campaign's focus is the Comprehensive Freeze Bill, supplemented by three "action" components.

The bill recently picked up its first Republican supporter, Rhode Island Representative Claudine Schneider, bringing its co-sponsor total by mid-June to 64. According to Freeze Campaign Legislative Coordinator Pat Harman, the Speaker of the House has indicated that hearings for the bill could begin in the fall—but only if it attracts 100

sponsors.

In addition to urging their congressional representatives to sign on to the freeze bill, activists are being urged, through mass mailings from the national office, to pursue three actions:

- A nationwide petition drive, calling for a moratorium on the arms race while the arms talks are underway, which will try to gather 5000 signatures from at least 200 congressional districts—a million signatures in all. Plans call for a well-publicized presentation of the petitions to Reagan or Gorbachev (or both) at the opening of the 40th United Nations session in early fall.

- The "Geneva Watch," which asks the grassroots to creatively illustrate—via newspaper ads, community billboards, and other visual means—the number of weapons deployed as the arms talks go on.

- Hiroshima/Nagasaki events, which include asking members of Congress to sign on to the freeze bill during the week of August 3-9; stepping up petition drives; and bringing the "Don't Just Talk: Freeze Now!" message to the media.

The National Committee also decided to present its constituency with three membership plans: no membership; local/state membership with national assistance; and joint local/state/national membership. And the committee voted

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to explore the "legal and practical" implications of a merger with the Freeze Voter PAC.

That group's national director, Chip Reynolds, however, said that a merger is unlikely, "for at least two years." Freeze Voter, which had 100 staff in the field in 1984, and a budget of \$1.4 million, is preparing for 1986 after a quiet winter. States have been targeted for aid, and plans for a new Freeze Corps (staffed partially by last year's volunteers eager to join the ranks again) are underway. "Last time we were conceiving and implementing plans at the same time," says Reynolds. "Now we have experience, and we have lead time. There's no doubt we'll have a bigger program."

—Renata Rizzo

AND A SIDE ORDER OF FREEZE

Joan Kroc Prepares Peace Drive

Can one person make a difference? If her name is Joan Kroc, widow of McDonald's founder Ray Kroc and owner of the San Diego Padres baseball team, there's no question about it.

Kroc, who appeared on the 1984 Forbes 400 list of wealthiest Americans with a net worth of \$525 million, recently entered the realm of peace activism in a big—and very public—way by taking out full-page advertisements in 23 major newspapers across the country. The ads,



Kroc: Concern is not enough

which feature a quote from a speech by Dwight D. Eisenhower, ran on May 30 in *The New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Washington Post*, *Boston Globe* and other dailies. The total cost of the one-day campaign was \$400,000, according to Mike Sund, director of public relations for the Joan B. Kroc Foundation.

"I've been concerned for many years with the buildup of nuclear arms," Kroc told NUCLEAR TIMES. But after attending the National Women's Conference to Prevent Nuclear War last September in Washington, D.C., she says, "I realized that being concerned was not enough. You need to make a commitment to do whatever you can do in whatever way you can do it to help out."

At that conference, Kroc met with and was inspired by Helen Caldicott. As a result of their meetings, Kroc com-

sioned the printing of 500,000 specially edited copies of Caldicott's book *Missile Envy*. Kroc plans to send copies this summer or fall to influential people throughout the United States, such as state and local officials and university presidents. The purchase and mailing of the book are being funded by the La Jolla, California-based Joan B. Kroc Foundation, which has estimated assets of \$30 million. (The ad campaign was funded with Kroc's own money.) Adds Kroc, "If we need to buy more books, we will."

In addition, Kroc is a generous contributor to the Center for Defense Information (CDI) in Washington, D.C., which sponsored the Women's Conference. Retired Admiral Gene LaRocque, director of CDI, is planning to travel to Hiroshima for the August 6 commemoration with Kroc in her private plane, *Impromptu*, which has a dove painted on each engine. (Other passengers will include Norman Cousins, Jack Lemmon, and their wives, says Kroc, who was invited to participate in the ceremonies by the Mayor of Hiroshima.)

In preparation for August 6, Kroc has commissioned a song, entitled "Dear World, I Really Love You," to be recorded by American children and distributed to radio stations. Japanese children will perform it live in their own language in Hiroshima.

But Kroc is not the only member of the family who is taking action. Her daughter, Linda Smith, who is married to San Diego Padres' President Ballard Smith, launched a group in mid-May called MEND (Mothers Embracing Nuclear Disarmament). Her decision to become involved in disarmament issues came after she visited the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington. "I was haunted," says Smith.

MEND, which has signed up over 200 volunteers, is putting together an "inaugural march" on August 6 in San Diego to commemorate the bombing and to promote awareness of the new organization. Smith hopes to build MEND, which has already trained 40 people as public speakers, into a national community-based group modeled after MADD (Mothers Against Drunk Drivers). "Obviously I don't have the funds that my mother has," says Smith. "I'm just out there in the trenches."

Despite their different approaches, both Kroc and Smith share the conviction that women, and especially mothers, can be an important force in the movement. "I'm not a sexist or a feminist," says Kroc, "but it is men who make and invent the weapons, and there are no women at the arms talks. It's high time we get involved."

—Alex Miller

Wrap-Up

In the wake of recent articles by **Daniel Ford** and **Thomas Powers**, 27 peace groups have called on Rep. Les Aspin, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, to conduct public hearings on U.S.

nuclear war-fighting plans Demonstrations against **homeporting** and **submarine-launched cruise missiles** were held in more than a dozen U.S. port cities in June. Activists in **New York** gathered more than 30,000 signatures to get a referendum on the ballot this November opposing the proposed Navy homeport on Staten Island "The captain and several officers aboard any U.S. strategic nuclear submarine could start a nuclear war at any time without Presidential orders," according to a recent **Center for Defense Information** report, "Who Could Start a Nuclear War?" **SANE** is working up educational materials and legislation calling for a **National Endowment for Peace** "to make available billions of dollars for peace" **Business Executives for National Security** (BENS) has expanded its political action program in congressional districts, directed by Mary Dent Crisp. **Ted Turner** recently joined the group, which now has 3000 members **SDI** could cost \$90 billion by 1994, and as much as \$225 billion by 2004, according to a new study by **Federation of American Scientists**' John Pike. **Pike** also said that the United States was "at least a decade ahead" of the Soviets in antimissile technology **ABC's** three-hour network nuclear show, **The Fire Unleashed**, bombed in the ratings, finishing 64th out of 66 shows aired that week, with only 6.7 percent of American television-owners tuning in. The Cosby Show beat it, 3-1 The Pentagon has named 46 possible sites for its proposed nine to 15 **Midgetman** bases. All are on military bases or government reservations and all but two are located from Texas westward The **U.S. Institute for Peace** may reach fruition after all—President Reagan claims that he has finally nominated a group of directors.

Looking Back To Move Ahead

While the peace movement has never ignored August 6 and 9, there is general agreement that this year's actions will be bigger, more imaginative and more numerous than ever before. There is an obvious reason for this: It's the 40th anniversary, Americans love round numbers, and the movement wants to take advantage of all the guaranteed attention. "We're being presented with an opportunity we don't normally get," says Bruce Cronin, disarmament coordinator with Mobilization for Survival in New York City.

Even a cursory survey of this year's activities reveals that the movement is shying away from the purely contemplative commemorations that characterized past years' events, and is instead turning toward positive action. The overwhelming feeling is that there's too little time to simply meditate on the horrors of the past. Programs typically have titles like the one in Seattle, "From Hiroshima to Hope," and in Nebraska, "Promises of Peace."

"I think this is potentially the most effective occasion we've ever had to organize around," says Retired Admiral Gene LaRocque, director of the Center for Defense Information in Washington, D.C., who has spearheaded a campaign to end all nuclear tests by August 6. "The advantage is that for once we can all act together as a single unified force."

Although not every organization will be actively pushing for a Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB), most of them, even the smallest grass-roots groups, have planned something for the occasion. Some highlights:

- Activists, mayors and the California section of The Ribbon will line the streets of Los Angeles, Beverly Hills and Santa Monica in a 15-mile, 204-block vigil stretching to the ocean.

- In Minneapolis, a section of a Hiroshima bridge destroyed on August 6, 1945, will be the focus of a ceremony involving the mayor, Japanese dignitaries, and the Twin Cities peace community.

- Nonviolent civil disobedience is expected at 40 weapons facilities nationwide—one for each year of the arms race.

- A coalition of groups in Burlington, Vermont, has distributed flyers to 2500 summer camps across the nation calling for the launching of "candleboats of

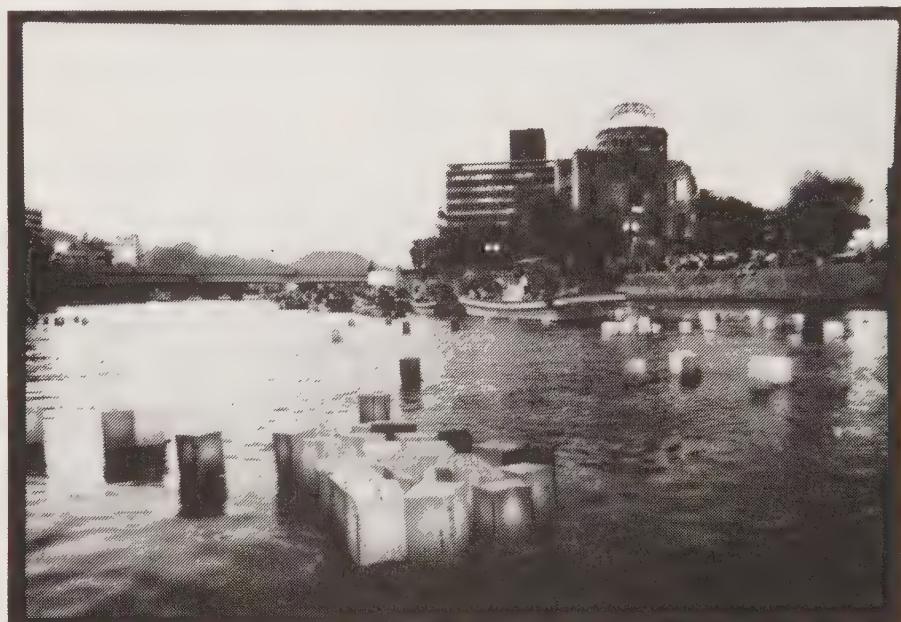
hope" on the evening of August 6.

- The Freeze Campaign, through a mass grass-roots mailing, has asked activists to declare August 3-9 "Hiroshima/Nagasaki Commemoration Week"; suggested activities include joining in actions at weapons facilities and mounting "Stop for Peace" campaigns (stop what you're doing at 8:15

religious community, including bishops, are expected to be arrested at the Nevada Test Site in a week-long witness there, and several miles of The Ribbon will be wrapped around federal buildings in Washington, D.C.

THE PRESS IS ON

For a movement that has often been criticized for its lack of media savvy, a



Hiroshima's paper lantern ceremony will be reenacted across America

a.m. on August 6).

- Activists in the Washington, D.C., area are building a scale model of the children's monument that stands in Hiroshima's Peace Park. On August 5, they will take it to Lafayette Park, where children will decorate it with paper cranes and flowers.

- Church bells will ring on August 5 at 7:15 p.m. EDT—the exact time of the Hiroshima bombing—in an ambitious national project coordinated by Physicians for Social Responsibility and endorsed by the National Council of Churches and Pax Christi. At the same time, groups across the country will be linked by telephone to the Hiroshima Peace Park ceremonies in Japan, a project sponsored by YMCA International.

- Candleboat ceremonies will be held on lakes and rivers from California to Maine as thousands of Americans join in the traditional Hiroshima/Nagasaki paper lantern observance.

- Two hundred people from the

growing aggressiveness is emerging, at least in conjunction with August 6 and 9. This effort is being led by the Center for Defense Information, which is releasing public service announcements calling attention to Hiroshima and the need for a CTB. The Center is also producing a five-part radio show for National Public Radio (see calendar, page 17). Member groups of the 6 August Coalition, for which CDI is the clearinghouse, are placing experts, such as Admiral Eugene Carroll, on radio and television talk shows in 10 communities across the country. "This is the first time since *The Day After* that the press will be paying any attention to our concerns," says Raoul Rosenberg, associate director for Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), a member of the 6 August Coalition.

But it's not only national groups that will try to capture the public eye. In Los Angeles, as part of an ambitious local event called "August 1945-August 1985: Imagine There's a Future," posters,

featuring photographs from a commemorative exhibit, will be displayed on the exteriors and interiors of 100 buses. And organizers of that city's 15-mile vigil plan to have a celebrity pick up The Ribbon being flown in from Washington, D.C. on August 5. Chances are the press will be along for the ride.

But activists are also concentrating on the type of nuts and bolts outreach the movement is famous for, and for good reason. Los Angeles vigil organizer Pauline Saxon is one of several activists who has been unsettled by a startling ignorance on the part of the public about the significance of August 6 and 9. "I've had people ask me why we chose August 6 for the vigil," Saxon says. "They've no idea!" As a result, Saxon plans to contact offices in every large building along the vigil's route, alerting workers to the meaning of the action, and asking them to join in on their lunch hours. Karen Mul-

hauser, executive director of Citizens Against Nuclear War in Washington, D.C., is working with other groups in the 6 August Coalition to send letters to Gray Panthers, Library Associations and other groups outside the antinuclear community. "We're going to let them know that speakers are available to talk to them about August 6 and a CTB," says Mulhauser. "It's important to broaden our base."

CTB DEBATE

According to many activists, a less obvious reason for the surge of "upbeat," forward-looking events this year is a lingering reaction to President Reagan's reelection. "We felt it was very important to show that the peace movement is very much alive," says Tony Wolfe, executive director of the Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race in Pasadena, California. (The Interfaith Center is sponsoring the Los Angeles

event along with the Hollywood Women's Coalition and 16 other groups.) Wolfe notes that planning for the summer project began immediately after the election. "Even though the American people have defaulted on their responsibility to elect a sensible leader," Wolfe says, "we wanted to give people hope in something better."

The most striking example of this future-oriented focus is CDI's push for a Comprehensive Test Ban by August 6.

"That date marks perhaps the most significant event in the history of mankind," Gene LaRocque told NUCLEAR TIMES. "Instead of just memorializing that event, we're focusing on a specific action to prevent further explosions." (CDI is urging people to write to elected officials on August 6 asking for a CTB. LaRocque also suggests calling the White House at 202-456-7639.)

Over 130 groups both here and abroad, including PSR, Greenpeace, SANE, the Freeze Campaign and Jobs with Peace, have signed on to CDI's 6 August Campaign. "We want to give people something positive to go away with," says David Schilling, director of special projects for the Riverside Church Disarmament Program in New York City, one of the few groups that is emphasizing Nagasaki in its activities. "By talking about a CTB, you're not diverting attention from the tragedy of the bombings. But you are saying that Nagasaki must be the last victim. You are saying the arms race must be capped. A CTB would do that."

But there are some in the movement who, while supporting the idea of a CTB, do not think it is the most appropriate vehicle to link with Hiroshima/Nagasaki observances.

"It's important to link commemorative events with action," says Daniel Arbess, executive director of the Lawyers' Committee for Nuclear Policy in New York City. "If you don't, you run the risk of having terrified people falling right into the hands of George Shultz, which is what happened with *The Day After*. But I think the action called for must be more encompassing—not a single-issue arms control measure. I don't think focusing on a CTB addresses the powerful role that military force plays in the world."

MfS's Bruce Cronin agrees. "We don't want to get too caught up in the intricacies of arms control," he says. "The theme we're trying to promote refocuses public debate away from such things and toward the lessening of world tension, abolishing weapons of mass destruction, and pressuring the government to find an alternative other than military force to solve international conflict."

Ribbon Wrap-Up

A Denver, Colorado grandmother's idea to express a yearning for peace on yard-long segments of cloth has grown from 40 friends on her 1981 Christmas card list to an international event involving, at last estimate, over 20,000 panels.

Peace ribbon events were held in about 25 states over the past three months in preparation for the big August 4 event in Washington, D.C. On May 26, 500 people gathered in Albany, New York to encircle the state capitol with 1621 pieces of ribbon. In Oakland, says California state coordinator Audrey Keller, close to 2,000 panels were displayed as part of an annual community festival. The colorful segments, says Keller, were strung up on poles that snaked through the park "like a Christo fence." In Arkansas, the involvement of Peace Links and Church Women United helped bring the segment total to 800 by mid-June.

The Center For New Creation in Arlington, Virginia is coordinating the national event. Fifty "host communities" have been set up to assist the state delegations, and a tabloid with complete schedules for the weekend will be circulated by the Center. There will be a "Religious Service for Peace" at the National Cathedral on August 3, where the Colorado grandmother, Justine Merritt, will speak.

Between 10 and 11:30 a.m. on August 4, participants will gather at three sites. The three-foot-long panels will be tied together in groups of three or four,

and held aloft by a person at each end. By 2:30 p.m., organizers hope to have a single line stretching around the Pentagon, across Memorial Bridge, down the Mall, around the Capitol, back up the Mall, around the Ellipse by the White House, and finally back to the bridge. The ribbon carriers will then tie the entire line of segments together for



The Ribbon: Peace through length

10 minutes to form a 10-mile-long banner. (It is possible, says one organizer, that police will not allow the group to block traffic on major streets.) Organizers need tens of thousands of people to hold the ribbon, so they are seeking volunteers.

Ribbons have come in from all 50 states, as well as from the Netherlands, the Soviet Union, West Germany, South Africa and other countries. Activists in Japan will be staging a companion ribbon event in Hiroshima on August 4, using an estimated 200 to 300 panels.

After August, 500 segments will be selected for a permanent collection at the Peace Museum in Chicago. Lark Books is publishing a full-color book called *The Ribbon: A Celebration of Life*, which is scheduled to be available by mid-July.

—Alex Miller

"We're going all out this year to show Americans that the Hiroshima/Nagasaki experience is the perfect example of what we call the deadly connection: Nuclear weapons were not used as a deterrent there, but as part of a conventional war. We want people to realize that if we go to war in Nicaragua, we're not being alarmist in saying that nuclear weapons could play a role." MFS, in addition to staging nationwide activities, is producing radio spots, featuring Ben Spock and possibly Grace Paley, and bus ads to highlight its thematic message: In every war, there's a Hiroshima waiting to happen.

This comprehensive approach can be seen in grass-roots activities currently being organized. A 93-mile peace walk, sponsored by the Burlington Peace Coalition in Vermont, will begin and end at Central American sanctuaries. Speakers at rallies along the way will discuss Star Wars and the freeze, and walkers will collect food for the homeless to call attention to the social effects of military spending. In Idaho, the Snake River Alliance is planning a march that will connect the military budget with farmers' strife, and will also address Central American issues.

Some communities are seizing the occasion to focus on pressing local issues. In San Francisco, for example, an ingenious "No Third Strike" campaign, incorporating baseball themes, is underway. (Hiroshima was the first strike, Nagasaki the second, and on the third strike we're all out.) According to Jean Ishibashi, disarmament coordinator for the Northern California American Friends Service Committee, the campaign is addressing the city's homeporting issue and is also trying to save the Peace Plaza, in the Japantown section of San Francisco, which has been sold to a developer.

In the end, most activists feel that it's crucial to do *something* on August 6 and 9—and what they do is secondary.

At a recent gathering of *hibakusha* at Riverside Church in New York, Tokiko Yoshimoto, who had just turned 24 when the bomb was dropped on the city of Hiroshima, fought back tears as she revealed that U.S. delegates to the United Nations, whom she had just met, had strongly defended the existence of nuclear weapons as deterrents. But then someone asked how she felt about the many Americans who will commemorate August 6 and 9 this year. Yoshimoto, who lost her mother, father and husband to that bomb, smiled. "I do think that is so important," she said. "The small efforts all over make such a difference." Her final words were sincerely spoken, but packed with irony: "We are grateful."

—Renata Rizzo

"A MOVING REMINDER
OF WHAT MUST NEVER HAPPEN AGAIN."
—CARL SAGAN

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By BETTY JEAN LIFTON.

Photographs by EIKO HOSOE

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SCENE OF THE CRIME

August 6 In Hiroshima

August 6 is obviously not like any other day in Hiroshima. It is not like any other day anywhere. What other city even has such a day to commemorate? More died in the siege of Leningrad, but the deaths were spread out over many months. More died in the Holocaust, but the victims were separated by years and the miles between the death camps. What city suffered so on a single day? Hiroshima can even mark the moment it met its fate: 8:15 a.m. Before the clock ticked again thousands had been slain. It was the world's first 60-second massacre, and yet the dying had only begun. This is just one lesson illuminated on August 6 in Hiroshima, and only in Hiroshima on August 6.

* * * * *
They begin arriving before dawn. With the glow of a torch the only light in the Peace Park, the first pilgrims pay their respects at the cenotaph. Some have driven for hours to get here. Others come by foot, hiking from the suburbs, as if retracing (in reverse) the route that they, or their parents, took on August 6, 1945, fleeing the city.

Some of the mourners, quite elderly, are *hibakusha*. Others lost mothers or fathers in the bombing. Young couples, infants in tow, grieve for grandparents, aunts, uncles. They stand silently (even the children) in the dark, heads bowed before the cenotaph. This memorial, not much taller or longer than a person, is the most hallowed spot in Hiroshima. It has an odd shape, much like a saddle. Under its arches sits a vault which contains the names of the Hiroshima dead; the curved concrete roof is meant to keep the rain off the souls of the deceased.

Some of the mourners move forward, kneel and pray, and add a stick of incense to the trough directly in front of the cenotaph. Few linger, almost no one weeps. Buddhists dressed in white smocks sit just to the left of the monument, chanting and beating small drums. In front of them rests a long table bearing fruit, flowers, *saké*—comfort for the dead. It could be almost any century, any occasion of mass mourning.

At 10 minutes past five the Buddhists suddenly cease their activity. They leave quickly. The sky is brightening. Television cameramen bearing bright lights arrive, in force. Peering under the arches of the cenotaph one can see the faint outline of the A-Bomb Dome and its famous skeletal crown, which lost its

copper skin on August 6, 1945. What dome is this which cannot reflect the rising sun? Through which one can see the sky turning blue?

* * * * *
Nearby, on the Aioi Bridge, 100 yards from the hypocenter of the atomic ex-



Children's Monument in Hiroshima, inspired by leukemia victim Sadako Sasaki. Her parents hold portrait of Sadako adorned with some of her famous paper cranes.

plosion, automobile traffic is sparse. Joggers command the road. At this hour on "that day" (as the *hibakusha* refer to August 6, 1945) the *Enola Gay* was well on its way, this t-shaped bridge its target. Along the river, one of seven which run through Hiroshima, it's absolutely quiet. The cicadas, whose high-pitched calls haunt the Peace Park, seem to be sleeping, but the bums on the park benches are awakening.

The river is still. Along the opposite shore high-rises gleam in the sun. Yet even these modern structures call attention to what happened on August 6, 1945. What other ancient city has no old buildings, not a single tall tree? A massive crane sits idly atop one new tower. Hiroshima, no longer rebuilding—just building. The sun is rising on August 6.

* * * * *
More than 40,000 people, including 1000 foreigners, usually attend the official peace ceremony, which takes place on the broad lawn between the cenotaph and the Peace Memorial Museum, often

in sweltering heat. On August 6, 1945, this was a killing field, a quarter of a mile from the hypocenter. Thousands of teenagers were working here at the time, clearing fire lanes in anticipation of an aerial bombardment. (They expected thousands of bombs to fall, not one.)

The ceremony is virtually the same every year. It begins on a moving note when several men and women dressed in black carry to the cenotaph, in wooden buckets, water drawn from Hiroshima's rivers, where so many perished seeking



safety on August 6, 1945. The water will comfort the victims' souls, it is believed. (Many in Hiroshima who could not reach the rivers died thirsty—crying for water.) Then the names of *hibakusha* who have passed away in the past year are presented at the cenotaph, where they will be lodged forever. The roll this year will again be more than 4000 lines long.

What other tomb has to continually make room for new victims to enshrine? This elegant monument has a life of its own. It is a living memorial to the dead, and the dying.

* * * * *
Suddenly it's 8:15. In cities around the world protesters pray for peace. In thousands of homes in Japan the bereaved are kneeling in front of family altars. In Hiroshima conversation ceases. Streetcars stop and children pause at street corners and bow their heads. Factory workers put down their tools. At the A-Bomb Hospital those *hibakusha* who can get out of bed stand and face in the

direction of the cenotaph; those who can't, kneel on their beds, hands folded, faces down. At the A-Bomb Dome dozens of students are conducting a die-in. At the official peace ceremony a silent prayer begins, but it is not quite silent: A centuries-old bell rings deeply, like a distant rumble. Now there is no quieting the unbearable cry of the cicadas; their screeches mark the moment perfectly.

So this is what it was like on that day: A cloudless sky, oppressive heat and the sun *just so*. The impressive profile of new buildings in the distance, and the survival of the human spirit in Hiroshima, offer little comfort on August 6.

* * *

The official ceremony deteriorates into a series of speeches by politicians. At its close the crowd disperses. Some head for home, or for work. Others seek shade in the Peace Park and then begin visiting the dozens of graceful memorials, which are shrouded in incense and laden with paper cranes folded by schoolchildren.

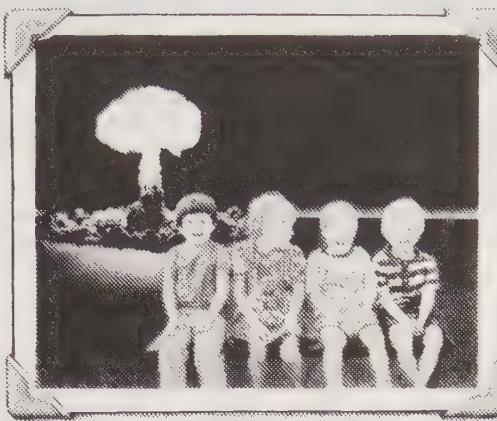
But many in the crowd, carrying flowers, rush up the center aisle toward the cenotaph. Policemen let a few move forward but struggle to hold the rest back. The bell is resounding again. The vault under the cenotaph opens. The names of 4000 new victims of the bomb are being lowered into the ground. Hundreds are about to be reunited with their parents who passed away on this day in 1945.

* * *

August 6, if truth be told, is not the best day to visit Hiroshima. TV crews, speeches, tourists, bleachers out in the sun—all are obtrusive on August 6, and absent the other 364 days of the year. Hiroshima is not about large gatherings but private reflection.

The only August 6 activity that combines mass witness with personal meditation is the Paper Lantern Ceremony. At dusk, relatives and friends of the deceased come to the Peace Park. Each constructs a colorful lantern, writes the name of a victim on its side, places a candle in the center, and launches the vessel down one of Hiroshima's rivers. Thousands gather on the bridges in the dark to quietly watch the souls of the dead being consoled. On rivers where countless bodies floated lifelessly not long ago paper lanterns are strung out like neon pearls as far as the eye can see. This is the anonymity of mass death made manifest. Each lantern represents an individual who, at 15 minutes past eight on the morning of this day in 1945, was seething with life and at 8:16 was dead, or dying. Many are launched by *hibakusha* who know that paper lanterns with their names written on them will be floating on this same river some day.

—Greg Mitchell



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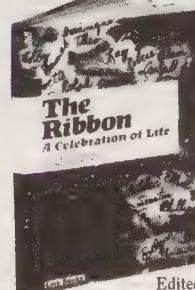
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4

THE SECOND CITY

Nagasaki: Gone, But Forgotten

Unless this year is different, you won't be hearing much about Nagasaki next month. Like other number twos, Nagasaki has been slighted, despite the fact that at least 75,000 civilians died there in August 1945.

"Nagasaki," Shinji Takahashi, a Japanese sociologist, told me sadly last summer, "is the inferior A-bomb city." When Takahashi attended a conference in New York in June 1982 he noticed that while Hiroshima was often mentioned he rarely heard a reference to his city. One speaker explained it to him this way: "Nagasaki is *included* whenever we say Hiroshima."

Is that explanation good enough? Should we so cavalierly dismiss so many deaths, relegating Nagasaki to nothing more than an historical footnote, of no more interest than the second man who walked on the moon? If anything, Nagasaki is more relevant to us today than Hiroshima and, as the last city to be devastated by a nuclear attack, it has even richer political symbolism.

A beautiful city built on hills near a natural harbor—sort of a tropical San Francisco—Nagasaki was for centuries the only Japanese port open to the West. The Portuguese and the Dutch set up outposts; it was the setting for *Madame Butterfly* and part of *Shogun*. Christians came, were massacred, but managed to form the largest Catholic community in the Far East. When Nagasaki is remembered at all it is usually in ironic terms. The bomb exploded directly over the Christian community, we have been told time and time again, as if this was the only blemish on an otherwise acceptable assault, as if Shintos and Buddhists were suitable for extermination but Christians were not.

It is in Nagasaki where the cheapness of life in the nuclear age is most evident. Brutal and unnecessary as it was, the bombing of Hiroshima had a certain inexorability, precision, military significance and high drama attached to it. What surrounds Nagasaki, on the other hand, is nothing but cynicism, pure chance and cold-blooded slaughter:

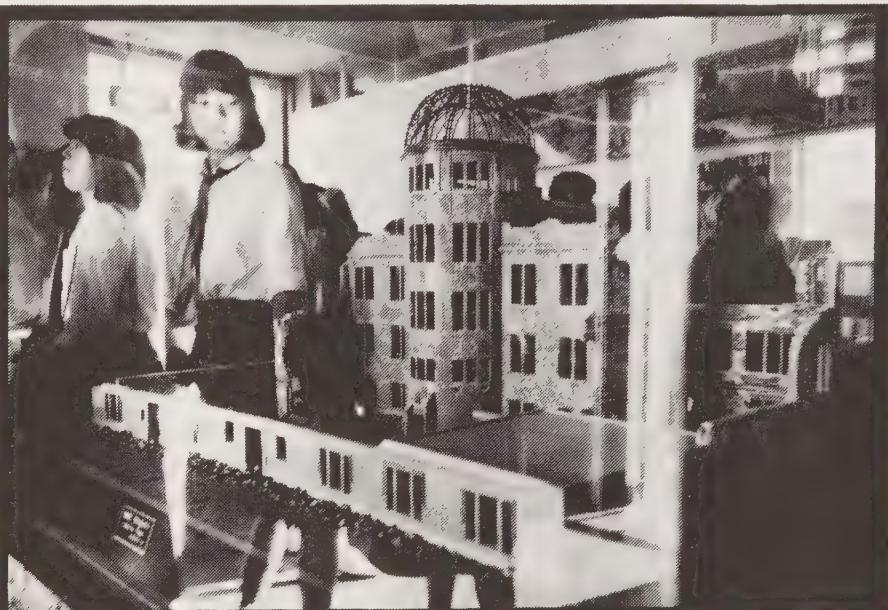
- Nagasaki was bombed "incidentally," as sociologist Takahashi put it. Clouds covered the principle target, Kokura, on the morning of August 9, and the B-29 which carried "Fat Man" had to head for

the secondary target. The plane barely had enough fuel to reach Nagasaki and once there the bombardier only found the city through a hole in the clouds at the last moment. In fact, if the bombing had been delayed a day or two, an approaching typhoon would have put off any mission for several days, possibly past the point of Japan's surrender.

- The bomb exploded off-target, away from the harbor and up one of the two valleys in which the city is set. Virtually all of Hiroshima was wiped out; less than half of Nagasaki was destroyed, and parts of the city were not damaged at all.

some practical sense. But few in Nagasaki see any reason why two cities had to be destroyed. Japan was surrounded at the time and wasn't going anywhere. Why couldn't the United States have waited more than three days after Hiroshima for Japan to surrender?

The answer, many believe, is this: The target of the second bomb was not Japan but the Soviet Union, which had declared war on Japan just the day before. To prevent the Soviets from claiming more territory in the East, and to show them that the Hiroshima blast was no fluke, the United States, many in Nagasaki believe, made martyrs out of 75,000 of



Even in the Nagasaki peace museum Hiroshima captures attention

- Nagasaki may be the "inferior" and the forgotten A-bomb city but it could also be called the modern A-bomb city. The device dropped on Nagasaki was a plutonium bomb, which was far more powerful, and caused crueler burns, than the uranium bomb detonated over Hiroshima. It was, for Manhattan Project scientists, the weapon of choice. Although tested at Trinity, it had never been used in the field, and its effect on humans was still unknown. It was the plutonium bomb which the United States tested and built exclusively after August 9, 1945. While many in Hiroshima believe their city was destroyed by the United States for experimental, not military, purposes, this is not a prevailing view, as it is in Nagasaki.

- Similarly, some in Hiroshima believe that the United States, to end the war, had a right to use the A-bomb (especially since Japan had committed war crimes itself), and that in this respect the bombing of their city made

their friends and relatives, and injured tens of thousands of others. In this view the Hiroshima blast effectively ended World War II. Nagasaki was the first casualty of the Cold War—an innocent bystander, a patsy chosen almost at whim.

In Hiroshima the feeling that tens of thousands of lives were terminated needlessly is strong; in Nagasaki the feeling is overwhelming. It can make you weep. It can also make you shiver, for a visitor to Nagasaki experiences the lesson of August 9, 1945, not as a mere footnote but as a powerful warning for today: Do not, Nagasaki tells us, let those who possess the bomb take your life lightly. To ignore the bombing of Nagasaki is to accept—even encourage—the use of nuclear weapons again.

—G.M.

Greg Mitchell spent three weeks in Hiroshima and Nagasaki last summer on a grant from the Hiroshima International Cultural Foundation.

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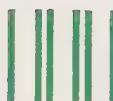
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NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

MFS ACTIONS

Nationwide activities on the 40th anniversary of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, organized by Mobilization for Survival (MFS), include: Non-violent civil disobedience at nuclear installations (see below); The Shadow Project (painting human outlines on streets and sidewalks to recreate the effect of vaporization on atomic bomb victims); productions of a specially-written theater piece, *Fallout*; bus and subway poster campaigns; and a tour of *hibakusha* in six teams across the country. For more information and organizing booklets, contact: MFS, 853 Broadway, New York, NY 10003 (212) 533-0008.

FACILITIES PROTESTS

"Forty Steps to Stop 40 Years of the Arms Race" is the theme of nationwide protests sponsored by Mobilization for Survival, at weapons facilities, research labs, storage sites, military bases and missile sites. As we go to press, locations for some of the 40 actions include:

- **Applied Physics Laboratory (APL)**, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD; Aug 6. Contact: Project for the Conversion of APL (301) 235-8401.

- **Davis-Monthan Air Force Base**, near Tucson, AZ; date TBA. Contact: Nuclear Free State (602) 792-3517.

- **General Electric Space Division**, Valley Forge, PA; Aug 6 and 9. Contact: Brandywine Peace Community (215) 544-1818.

- **Hanford Nuclear Reservation**, Hanford WA; Aug 6-9. Contact: Seattle Non-violent Action Group (604) 325-5202.

- **Kirtland Air Force Base**, Albuquerque, NM; date TBA. Contact: The Peace Action Group (505) 268-9557.

- **Knolls Atomic Power Lab**, near Albany, NY; tentative date Aug 9. Contact: The Knolls Action Project (518) 434-4037.

- **Livermore Research Lab**, Berkeley, CA; August 6-9. Contact: The Livermore Action Group (415) 644-2028.

- **Lockheed Missile and Space Facility**, San Jose, CA; date TBA. Contact: San Jose Peace Center (408) 832-4508.

- **Long Beach Navy Station**, Long Beach, CA; Aug 9. Contact: Long Beach Peace Network (213) 425-3955.

- **Martin Marietta**, Denver, CO; date TBA. Contact: American Friends Service Committee (303) 832-4508.

- **McDonnell Douglas Corporation**, Titusville, FL; Aug 9. Contact: Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice (305) 422-3479.

- **Offutt Air Force Base**, SAC Headquarters, Omaha, NE; Aug 6. Contact: Greenfields Community (402) 453-1547.

- **Pantex plant**, Amarillo, TX; Aug 3-9. Contact: Red River Peace Network (512) 474-2399.

- **Peace Air Force Base**, Concord NH; Aug 6-10. Contact: American Friends Service Committee (603) 224-2407.

- **Project ELF**, Chequamegon National Forest, WI; Aug 6-9. Contact: Citizens for Alternatives to Trident and ELF (715) 866-8322.

- **Romeo-29 Minuteman Missile Silo**, Missoula, MT; Aug 6-9. Contact: Silence One Silo (406) 549-9449.

- **Seneca Army Depot**, Romulus, NY; August 9-10. Contact: The Finger Lakes Peace Alliance (315) 365-2664 and the Women's Encampment for a

AUGUST 6-AUGUST 9

Calendar



Future of Peace and Justice (607) 869-5825.

- **Williams International**, Walled Lake, MI; Aug 6. Contact: Michigan Alliance for Disarmament (313) 995-5871.

- **Wurtsmith Air Force Base**, Wurtsmith, MI; Aug 6. Contact: Crossroads (517) 554-0015.

- **Wright Patterson Air Force Base**, Fairborn, OH; Aug 6. Contact: Wilmington War Resisters League (513) 382-3569.

For more information contact: Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, New York, NY 10003 (212) 533-0008. —Compiled by Susan Jaffee

LOS ANGELES EVENTS

The Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race, together with the Hollywood Women's Coalition and some 60 other groups, is sponsoring a series of events in the Los Angeles area. Activities include: Art and photography exhibits, featuring the Japanese artist Kazuaki Kita, beginning **July 13** and running for six weeks; symposia on Star Wars, the economics of the arms race, nuclear-age education and other topics on **July 28**; a theater event on **July 29**; a month-long film festival, featuring *Dr. Strangelove, On the Beach, Testament*, and appearances by actors, producers and directors, starting **Aug 1**; religious observances at over 2000 congregations from **July 26-28** and **Aug 2-4**; Young People's Festival for Peace, with live theater, music, crane-making, celebrites and more on **Aug 3**; 15-mile vigil on **Aug 6**. For more information, contact: Interfaith Center, 132 N Euclid Av, Pasadena, CA 91101 (818) 449-9430.

RADIO HIROSHIMA

"Hiroshima Countdown: 40 Years in the Nuclear Age," a retrospective history, will include interviews with *Enola Gay* pilot Paul Tibbets, *hibakusha*, Americans who were caught in Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, and much more; produced by Andrew Phillips and sponsored by the Center for Defense Information. The show, which is available in nine five-minute segments or in one 60-minute package, will air on National Public Radio stations on or around **Aug 5-9**. For more information, contact: Leslie Peter, Murray Street Enterprises, (212) 619-1475.

BELLS CHIME

On **Aug 5** at 7:15 p.m. EST, the exact time of the anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing, churches nationwide are being asked to ring their bells for peace. The commemoration is endorsed by the National Council of Churches and Pax Christi and is coordinated by Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR). Contact: PSR, 200 Third St, Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 547-7990.

SHOSHIN SHOW

Opening on **July 16** in International Square, Washington, DC, will be the "Images for Survival" exhibit sponsored by the Shoshin Society and the American Institute of Graphic Arts; designs of American artists commemorating the Hiroshima/Nagasaki bombings will be on display through Aug 16. Contact: Charles Helmken, 11 Dupont Circle, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 328-5916.

AUGUST 3

WISCONSIN

- **La Crosse** Physicians for Social Responsibility is sponsoring a commemoration of the bombings with a lantern float down the Mississippi, speeches, music, and an appearance by Governor Anthony Earl; participants will be provided with materials to make their own lanterns; Riverside Park. Contact: Cameron Gunderson, 1836 S Av, La Crosse, WI 54601 (608) 782-7300 ext 2321.

AUGUST 4

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Peace Ribbon to encircle the Pentagon and other federal buildings; an estimated 20,000 volunteers are needed to hold the 10-mile-long ribbon and to act as marshals. Hosts for out-of-state delegations are also needed. Church-Women United is asking churches across the country to ring their bells in unity with the ribbon-bearers at **2:00 EST**. Contact: Center for a New Creation, 845 Lincoln St, Arlington, VA 22203 (703) 528-1446.

NEBRASKA

- **Lincoln** "Promises of Peace," a family celebration to remember Hiroshima and say "never again," will be held in the rotunda of the State Capitol. Contact: Nebraska Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, PO Box 95052, Lincoln, NE 68509 (402) 475-4258.

OHIO

- **Cleveland** "Children's Peace Fair," with puppetry, theater, music, mime, dance, paper crane-making and massive balloon launch. Contact: Physicians for Social Responsibility, 11205 Euclid Av, Cleveland, OH 44106 (216) 721-2470.

AUGUST 5

ILLINOIS

- **Chicago** Week-long activities organized by a coalition of groups include rally on August 9 in Daley Center Plaza, a film festival, the shadow project, a candleboat ceremony, and the harboring of the Greenpeace ship *Fre* at the Navy Pier, Lake Michigan. Contact: Hiroshima/Nagasaki Commemoration Committee, 343 S Dearborn, Chicago, IL 60604 (312) 663-1227.

PENNSYLVANIA

- **Philadelphia** Evening activities will

include city-wide churchbell ringing and speeches on the medical implications of a nuclear attack, the experiences of *hibakusha*, and the Comprehensive Test Ban. Contact: Physicians for Social Responsibility, PO Box 13419, Philadelphia, PA 19101 (215) 898-6304.

TENNESSEE

- **Memphis** Hiroshima/Nagasaki commemorations will include community dinner, concert, demonstration, and *hibakusha*; through **Aug 6**. Contact: Mid-South Peace and Justice Center, Box 41645, Memphis, TN 38104 (901) 452-6997.

AUGUST 6

CALIFORNIA

- **San Diego** "Mothers' March," plus program honoring *hibakusha*; Balboa Park. Contact: Linda Smith, Mothers Embracing Nuclear Disarmament (MEND), PO Box 2309, La Jolla, CA 92038 (619) 454-3343.

COLORADO

- **Statewide** "Pause for Peace," at 3:30 p.m. with ringing of church bells, wearing of white ribbons and more. Governor Richard Lamm is issuing a proclamation supporting the event. Contact: Jim Turley, Coordinator, Pause for Peace, 1980 Dahlia St, Denver, CO 80220 (303) 399-5445.

IOWA

- **Des Moines** Actions will include demonstration on the steps of the state capitol with procession to the Japanese bell given to Des Moines by its sister city, Kofu, Japan; "Forbidden Faces" exhibit at the YMCA in conjunction with the film *No More Hiroshimas*; children's street theater; arms race education, and more. Contact: Peggy Huppert, Commission on International Peace and Reconciliation, 317 E 5 St, Des Moines, IA 50309 (515) 244-2253.

NEW YORK

- **New York** The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) will culminate its drive in support of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty at 10:30 a.m. in a presentation of petitions to the United States Representative to the United Nations; US Mission to the UN, 799 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10007. Contact: WILPF, 1213 Race St, Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215) 563-7110.

RHODE ISLAND

- **Statewide** Events will include vigils, art exhibitions, wearing of black armbands and educational action; through **Aug 9**. Contact: William Smith, Rhode Island Mobilization for Survival, PO Box 2534, Providence, RI 02835 (401) 423-0433.

AUGUST 8

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Nagasaki commemoration, with showing of the film *Prophecy*, followed by a candlelight procession and vigil at the White House. Contact: Hiroshima/Nagasaki Peace Committee, John Steinbach, 2501 N Florida St, Arlington, VA 22207 (703) 536-6380.

NEW YORK

- **New York** "Sounds of Horror/Words of Hope," will feature the Inoue Chamber Ensemble, speakers, including Richard Falk, and a moment of silence; Riverside Church. Contact: David Schilling, Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Dr, New York, NY 10027 (212) 222-5900.

Labor Intensive Activities

This summer, on the fortieth anniversary of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, peace activists will stage what could be the most massive nationwide protests ever held at the country's nuclear weapons facilities and military bases. Instead of lobbying members of Congress or rallying at the United Nations, the protesters will face the thousands of men and women who actually help keep the arms race going day after day. "There are workers who are going to be caught in the middle of it," says Mobilization for Survival's Disarmament Coordinator Bruce Cronin. "And we're going to make it as clear as possible that we're not targeting them. But we're determined that nuclear weapons will not be built."

In endorsing the actions at nuclear facilities (see calendar, page 17), the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign passed a resolution at its December conference urging "early cooperative contact with the local labor unions which represent the workers. . . . In order to build long lasting trust and cooperation, local labor unions should have full knowledge of the plans for nonviolent action and have input into the timing and character of the action."

But it's never been easy for peace activists to talk to defense workers. How can the dialogue begin? What do the two groups have in common, if anything?

"Protesters demonstrate at the plant and pour blood on the gates and then wonder why the workers won't talk to them," says Gene Carroll, the Freeze Campaign's labor coordinator and field liaison in Washington, D.C. Even when the antinuclear movement has managed to win the support of labor—for the June 12 rally or the Jobs with Peace Campaign, for example—the nuclear-related unions, with thousands of jobs directly at stake, have been conspicuously absent. Union endorsements of the nuclear freeze resolution have come from the primarily non-nuclear unions like the auto, telephone and clothing workers, teachers, and other public employees. While the 600,000-member International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (representing the largest number of unionized weapons workers) has endorsed the freeze, nuclear-related unions like the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and the International Union of



Workers meet protesters at General Dynamics' Electric Boat shipyard in Groton

Electrical Workers have not. Neither has the AFL-CIO, although its leadership issued a compromise statement in 1983 recognizing that a majority of union members supports a freeze.

Even if there was agreement on the politics of a freeze, disarmament has come to mean unemployment, in the minds of many nuclear workers. "Connecticut is one of the most defense-dependent states in the country," says Joanne Sheehan, staff member at the War Resisters League's New England office. "You can't even drive for an hour to another job, because where would you go?"

So far, official efforts to explore alternative jobs in Connecticut—and other states—have often been half-hearted. In 1980, for example, Connecticut's Community Product Development Corporation, a state agency, was directed to give priority to helping defense-dependent companies explore non-defense product development. So far, the agency has dealt with just three defense contractors. (Freeze activists there, though, have convinced the State General Assembly's Planning and Development Committee to devote its own money and staff-time to study the impact of the military industry on Connecticut's economy, and explore developmental alternatives.)

In Minnesota, a bill to establish an office of economic conversion to assist businesses, unions and communities in developing conversion plans was re-introduced this year, after failing in committee in 1984. The Oregon House of Representatives voted down a weapons conversion bill in May which would have imposed a tax on the sale of nuclear weapons components made in the state. Even though Oregon ranks 43rd in the country in number of defense contracts, "legislators were very jumpy about sending out a negative business signal," says Peter Bergel, director of Citizen Action for Lasting Security in Salem.

Until conversion efforts produce results, many defense workers will have little choice over how to make a living. "People in the industry should not be made the victims," insists Ed Ott, vice-president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers local 8-149 in New York City. "There's a certain amount of economic coercion in them being there. You're talking about the difference between \$12- and \$15-an-hour jobs and McDonald's. They are economic captives and we have to be sensitive to that."

Last January, a group of disarmament activists picketed in front of a General Dynamics computer center, which provides backup services to the nuclear submarine shipyard in Groton, Connecti-

cut. Sheehan recalls that the employees couldn't drive through the plant gates, which were blocked by demonstrators, so they had to walk through. As a woman worker stepped over the blockaders, she handed one a note. "Thanks for being here," she wrote, "and raising the issues I don't have the guts to face."

But this response is not typical. Connecticut's Ministry with Defense Workers, of which Sheehan was a member, offered workers job counseling and support to leave the defense industry, but it had minimal effect and has disbanded. A Rhode Island group called Exodus offers similar services, including a modest fund for financial assistance, and maintains a telephone hotline so that workers can call in anonymously without fear of recrimination. "Exodus supports those exiting the nuclear industry," says staff member Brian Donohue-Lynch, "by trying to build the kind of concrete support so that workers can make particular decisions about their jobs." Over the past year, Exodus has had contact with only eight workers, and just one has left the industry.

HEALTH INSURANCE

One way that peace activists can actually help defense workers is to address the issue of health hazards inside the weapons plants. That's common ground: Most people don't want dangerous jobs and the peace movement doesn't want what those jobs produce.

Pam Solo, former national coordinator of the American Friends Service Committee's disarmament program in Denver, Colorado, focused on occupational health as one of the founders of the Nuclear Weapons Facilities Task Force. This network of groups in communities across the country formed in 1978 to protest every phase of nuclear weapons production; in 1983 it went into hibernation because most of its groups, looking for a unifying national policy, joined the Freeze Campaign. Solo worked primarily on Rocky Flats, Rockwell International's plutonium trigger factory outside of Denver.

"The approach we took," she remembers, "was, 'look, the government has covered up the hazards of weapons production to us as a community and to you as workers. We're killing ourselves slowly in order to blow ourselves up altogether.'

"I think it was a big success just that we sat down and talked to one another and worked together exposing the cover-up about the health impact of low-level radiation. The brain cancer incidents [suffered by workers at Rocky Flats] would never have gone to the lawyers without our efforts."

"The unions had underestimated the hazards," Solo continues, "and our dia-

logue has resulted in the unions becoming much stronger advocates for their members."

Since the Task Force disbanded, other local groups have taken up the health issue, such as the Hanford Education

"You don't tell weapons workers to quit, and you don't peddle guilt"

Action League (HEAL) in Spokane, Washington. And efforts have been made to pass shareholders' resolutions requiring General Dynamics, McDonnell Douglas and more recently, Electric Boat at Groton, to alert workers about the health consequences of exposure to hazardous substances on the job.

As the Reagan Administration's demands for nuclear arms have soared, the U.S. Department of Energy (DoE) reported an increase in worker radiation exposure. At the DoE's Fernald uranium processing plant in Ohio, DoE inspectors found that worker radiation exposure had jumped 40 percent in just one year (1983), and that workers there die from digestive cancer at a rate 36 percent higher than the general public, and contract five times as much pulmonary fibrosis. (See "Risky Business," page 3.)

JOB SECURITY

The health issue is not the only concern that antinuclear activists and defense workers share. Another strong tie is jobs: Both groups want more of them. Various economic studies, including Bureau of Labor Statistics reports, have found that defense employs *less* people than almost any other kind of expenditure. "Even if Connecticut got all of the increased defense contract awards in the '86 budget," claims Marta Daniels, coordinator of the Connecticut Freeze Campaign, "a substantial number of new workers would not be hired."

"The record shows that even in boom times, there's no job security for defense workers. For example," Daniels continues, "between '78 and '84, United Technologies' Pratt and Whitney plant in East Hartford had a doubling of its military contracts, but the company *laid off* 12,500 workers in the same period. The reasons for these layoffs have to do with the capital-intensive nature of the industry, due to automation and increased subcontracting out-of-state and overseas."

In a worst case scenario, about 350,000 workers could be displaced if a nuclear freeze was implemented, according to William Hartung's *The Economic Consequences of a Nuclear Freeze*. Even

though that's less than 0.4 percent of the total U.S. workforce, it doesn't make it any easier for individual weapons workers to ponder loss of employment.

"We won't make any progress in terms of talking to the people directly employed in these plants," Pam Solo says, "until we blend our proposals—like a comprehensive test ban and a freeze—with effective policies for economic conversion implemented locally."

But the main benefit of conversion—disarmament—must never be forgotten, warns Eric Segal, coordinator of the Conversion Research Project for the Massachusetts Jobs with Peace office in Boston. "You've got to be careful to sell conversion for the right reasons: not for economics, but for disarmament," Segal says.

Ed Ott of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers suggests putting forward a positive agenda, instead of threatening workers by demanding spending cuts and freezes. "A form of economic conversion," he says, "would be to say to unions, 'we don't want money for the [Navy's nuclear missile-equipped] Surface Action Group, but we wouldn't mind having that money diverted into mass transit.' Then go to the unions that would benefit from that and say, 'why are the trade unions supporting a project that's going to divert money from where it's needed?'"

The antinuclear movement could help unions by demanding that workers be protected against health hazards and by showing that safe jobs in non-nuclear fields can be a reality, that nuclear workers don't have to be economic hostages. In return, antinuclear unions would boost the effectiveness of the peace movement. The British fire fighters and government employees unions, for example, have refused to participate in civil defense exercises and have humiliated the government, which cannot legitimize civil defense without union cooperation.

Although the Freeze Campaign's labor coordinator, Gene Carroll, thinks protests held at weapons production plants may intimidate workers, he concedes that outreach efforts before the demonstrations "is a step in the right direction." It will be a difficult and frustrating task, as Joanne Sheehan's experience at Connecticut's Trident submarine base has shown. While she demonstrates outside, several of her friends are working inside. "You don't tell them to quit, and you don't peddle guilt," she says. "If I started coming down heavy, preaching my politics, that would close off any possibility for discussion." But when she does talk to them, she knows that "raising conflict is inherent in raising the issues at all."

—Susan Jaffe

BY DANIEL ELLSBERG

Blind Men's Bluffs

A public opinion survey in the spring of 1984 sponsored by the Committee on the Present Danger confirmed previous findings that roughly 80 percent of the public favored a U.S./Soviet nuclear weapons freeze at current levels. Yet Ronald Reagan continued to denounce the idea of a bilateral halt to the arms race and refused to explore it with the Soviets.

He maintained this stand up to Election Day. The day after, it was apparent that half or more of the 80 percent who favored the freeze had voted for Ronald Reagan.

No doubt a number of factors went into this result. For one, Mondale's own "commitment" to the freeze—and to the moratorium on warhead and missile testing promised in the Democratic platform—was almost inaudible in the fall campaign and in the debates with Reagan. But the Reagan landslide has been followed by apparent public acceptance—at any rate, lack of outraged protest—of Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, his persistently non-negotiable positions in Geneva, and his success at winning congressional support for destabilizing strategic programs.

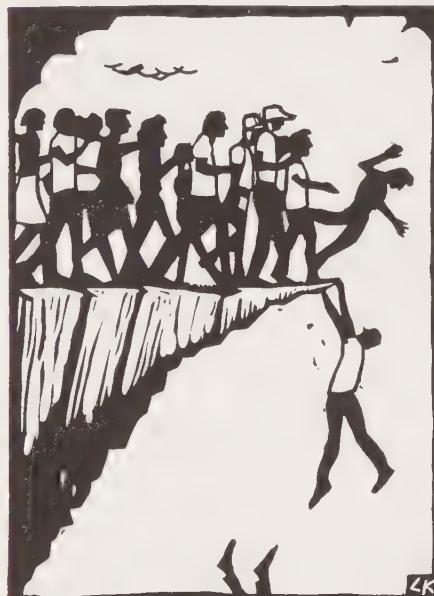
It is difficult to believe that 80 percent of the citizenry, or any large fraction of that, shares with freeze activists a sense that ending the nuclear arms race by a comprehensive freeze or a moratorium on missile and warhead testing is a matter of urgency or high national priority. We have, it would seem, a lot of convincing left to do. But how, exactly, to proceed?

TALKING AND ARMING

Our movement began to roll toward those perplexing opinion poll majorities in 1981 when there were no strategic talks going on with the Soviets, and none scheduled. I now think that most of the people favoring the freeze in polls and referenda were simply telling President Reagan that they wanted this situation to change—i.e., to change back. They wanted him to overcome his reservations about the SALT process and get back to negotiating some kind of arms limitations with the Soviets. They expected him to

do his best to arrive at agreements, but whether successful in this or not (they no longer expect success but don't hold it against him) they wanted Reagan "talking to the Russians."

Reagan got that message, and responded. He sent delegations to INF and START. Instead of talking about the need for superiority, he outflanked the Freeze Campaign by talking about "reductions," and lately, "abolition."



None of this has impeded Weinberger's buildup program, and in fact it amounts to nothing more—nothing more was demanded, apparently—than a formal return to the arms control approach of Reagan's predecessors, which was always good enough in the past to keep the arms race going. Reagan's one innovation is the SDI, designed to assure nuclear testing forever and to preclude any risk that the Soviets might accept proposed limits on offensive forces.

Further inducements to the rapid growth of the antinuclear movement in both Europe and the United States in 1981 were the colorful statements on nuclear war by Reagan officials. They claimed to believe that nuclear war could be limited, won and survived. So Reagan induced his officials to stop saying these things, to Robert Scheer at least.

As with his shift on negotiations, he then found that to agree with the mass of the public that "nuclear war cannot be

won and must never be fought" he need not slow down any of his first-strike weapons programs. For the formula does not insist—nor does the public, it seems—that nuclear war must never be credibly threatened, hence prepared for.

The logic of Reagan's policies did not, in fact, depend on any of the "crazy" Reaganaut notions that were publicly retired. After all, the same strategic logic, policies and weapons capabilities have been pursued by every President for the last 40 years. (The notion that "war-fighting strategy," or counterforce targeting, or first-use threats, or plans for preemption, were invented under Reagan is simply a delusion.) Nor have the types of weapons needed to implement these traditional (secret) policies changed recently. With the exception of the B-1 and SDI, every single weapon that Reagan is now pursuing is a Ford-Carter weapon.

Weinberger's predecessors did not program these particular weapons because they feared a Soviet surprise attack on the United States, nor because they looked forward to winning nuclear wars with the Soviets. These weapons are designed to strengthen the ability of American expeditionary forces to avert, or defeat, non-nuclear challenges to U.S. and allied interests far from our shores. They are to do this by enhancing the credibility of U.S. threats to initiate "limited" nuclear war.

Of course, in addition to overseas interests, there are domestic incentives that are also critical to sustaining the programs. The three services all "need" new missiles, the producers need contracts, unions need jobs, congressional and presidential candidates need votes and contributions. All these needs can be satisfied by weapons programs that are compatible with any of the current "arms control" programs—except for the freeze. Both these external and internal considerations explain why the freeze is not perceived by the foreign policy and military establishment as "serious arms control."

It is true that public support for the freeze in polls has held up, despite competition since 1982 from Reagan's various INF and START proposals, renewed interest in SALT II, and congressional formulas for build-down and Midgetman-as-stabilizer. But, in

Daniel Ellsberg is a former member of the national Freeze Campaign's Strategy Task Force.

truth, we lack opinion data suggesting that the public *prefers* the freeze to any of these other proposals (now including SDI), or even recognizes a sharp and significant difference between the freeze and all of the others. I conjecture that most of the public does not.

From my point of view, that is awful. I see all the difference in the world. The freeze would stop the arms race; the other proposals would not. The freeze would halt further testing or deployment of all the impending U.S. and Soviet first-strike (or unverifiable) weapons that raise the risk of nuclear war. Every one of these weapons is compatible with—is permitted and likely to be pursued under—each of the “official” arms control alternatives to the freeze. If the public doesn’t see that as a vital and urgent difference—and I’m afraid it may not—then our message needs a good deal of sharpening, and most of our work remains to be done.

BETTER THREATS THAN RED

The study last fall by Daniel Yankelovich for the Public Agenda Foundation found that a consensus of 77 percent of Americans, asked what U.S. policy should be by the end of the decade, rejects the first-use of U.S. nuclear weapons under any circumstances, even against a non-nuclear “Soviet invasion of Europe or Japan.” Seventy-six percent say it should be U.S. policy to use nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union if and only if they attack the United States first with nuclear weapons. (Eighty-one percent mistakenly believe this to be U.S. policy now.)

However, the Public Agenda poll did not ask what people thought about threatening nuclear war. But another study did. The 1984 poll for the Committee on the Present Danger, conducted by Penn and Schoen Associates, asked the question: “Do you favor or oppose telling the Soviets that we will not respond with nuclear weapons if they attack our allies?” (emphasis added). Only 20 percent favored telling the Soviets that we would not respond with nuclear weapons; 66 percent were opposed.

The C.P.D. summarized this result, reasonably: “A substantial majority of Americans . . . support the threatened use of nuclear weapons to deter a Soviet attack against U.S. allies . . .” (emphasis added). A longer summary adds: “Interestingly, the college educated citizens were most opposed to the actual use of nuclear weapons. This same group was the most in favor of keeping up the threat of their use to defend our allies.”

It is good news, from Yankelovich, that the majority of Americans do not want nuclear weapons “actually used” (first) by us in combat. They don’t want nuclear threats to be implemented if they

fail; they want the threats to be just bluffs. But, according to the C.P.D. poll—which I find all too plausible—they do think that threats are needed, to protect our allies and overseas interests. They want the “bluffs” to be made.

This is bad news—worse than it may appear at first. For it would follow—and the political behavior of voters is regrettably consistent with this—that they would be receptive to buying the kinds of weapons for first-use, escalation and preemptive first-strike that are designed to enhance the *credibility* of such threats. And that is essentially what the current, dangerous arms race is.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Freeze Campaign literature asserts: “We have convinced the American public of the risks of the arms race.” On the basis of these and other public opinion data, I would say, “That’s wrong.” We have convinced them of the risks associated with a nuclear war. We have not convinced them of the risks associated with acquiring new nuclear weapons—risks of testing them, deploying them, threatening with them.

Many people see the ongoing arms race as wasteful, but not enough yet see it, as we do, as adding immediately, on balance, to our overall danger. Nor have we convinced them that threats are not necessary, or not safe. That means that we have not convinced them that the means to make threats credible and effective ought to be strongly opposed. We have not taught them that Reagan’s arms race is an unacceptable approach to peace.

It is simply the other side of this that stopping the arms race, even to those who see it as desirable, does not necessarily appear as a means to higher security. The pollsters for the Committee on the Present Danger found that “the freeze is seen more as a budget-cutting measure than an answer to the country’s defense problems. Only one-third said that a nuclear freeze would reduce the chance of a nuclear war, while 55 percent said it ‘would only reduce the expense of continuing to develop nuclear weapons.’”

The main argument of the Freeze Campaign itself encourages this evaluation, perhaps inadvertently, with its emphasis on halting all weapons, without

focus on qualitative differences. Earlier campaigns that stressed “overkill” and redundancy may have had a similar effect. The Yankelovich survey asked what difference it would make to national security if both the United States and Soviet Union cut their nuclear arsenals in half (George Kennan’s proposal). It found that 61 percent said it would make no difference. Fifty-two percent said it wouldn’t matter if the two countries “froze all nuclear weapons at present levels.” Seventy-one percent felt it would make no difference if both doubled the size of their nuclear arsenals (the current direction).

These attitudes correspond to the 90 percent consensus Yankelovich finds among Americans that “we and the Soviets now have enough to blow up each other several times over.” In the context of political mobilization and action, emphasis on this familiar “overkill” perception can be seen to cut two ways. It points toward the infeasibility of achieving a meaningful superiority, on which Americans are now nearly unanimous. But at the same time it undercuts any judgment that achieving a mutual halt is a matter of grave urgency or priority; the chances are, as people see it, that it would make no difference to national security, only to spending.

Such judgments make a freeze look “permissible”; they do not make it look strongly necessary. On the contrary.

Speaking from a background as a weapons analyst and war planner for the Rand Corporation and Defense Department, what concerns and frightens me about the current arms race is not the number or the cost of the weapons that are multiplying, but the type of weapons that are being added on both sides, the functions and strategy they serve, and the effects of their interaction. I am well aware of the complexity and unfamiliarity of these arguments, and the contrary need for simplicity in political communication. In the past I myself deferred to these considerations. But to communicate the awareness of urgency that is appropriate and, it now appears, politically essential, there may be simply no substitute for moving beyond gut generalities to the daunting educational task of preparing more Americans to feel confident in making critical judgments on specific weapons systems, political/military strategies, and negotiating proposals.

Let us not be too hasty, this round, in judging that to be infeasible; if that is so, our experience so far suggests that real change, and survival, could be infeasible.

Thus, we need to criticize the Strategic Defense Initiative not mainly in terms of its high cost or the probability that it won’t work. The key objection is that it

guarantees the continuation of an offensive and defensive arms race that is bringing us weapons—including the SDI systems themselves—that make the world even more dangerous than it is today. And we have to oppose those other weapons—MX, ASAT, Trident II (D-5), Pershing 2, and SLCMs—along with the whole new round of Soviet counterparts, for the reasons that they lower our security and that of the world.

These weapons are not, primarily, for fighting but for threatening. That type of use is not less dangerous but its dangers need to be explained. It is one thing for Americans to accept in principle the need for nuclear first-use "bluffs" (primarily to defend Europe). It could be quite another thing for them to discover just how close we have actually come to initiating tactical nuclear war a dozen times in the past—mostly against Third World opponents with links to the Soviets—and how far our current threats are from being pure bluffs.

These new weapons coming along markedly strengthen the deadly connection between interventions and the actual first use of nuclear weapons in combat. They increase the likelihood of nuclear escalation, and of full-scale preemption once any nuclear weapon has exploded. They encourage leaders to continue to make first-use threats, to use their nuclear weapons by pointing them at others in confrontations. At the same time, the mutual buildup is making it more likely that such threats will fail, and that some day one will be carried out, at the risk of our world. These reckless programs are pushing ahead year by year, gathering momentum that makes them progressively harder to halt. Probably only a new president—rather than Congress in opposition to Reagan—could achieve a comprehensive freeze, with its requirements for negotiated verification. But Congress can and must slow down and halt individual weapons systems before that time, and could go beyond that to institute a *de facto* moratorium on the testing of warheads and flight testing of ballistic missiles—both now thoroughly verifiable without further negotiation—by making funding for such testing conditional on Soviet testing.

We cannot afford to freeze the arms race only after both sides have acquired these new weapons. We need, by every means, to stop these new developments (essentially through Congress) on the basis of a newly committed and informed public mood, and by nominating and electing a candidate in 1988 far different from any we have seen so far in dedication to protecting us from the dangers of the nuclear arms race. We have a lot of educating—of ourselves and the public—ahead of us. □

Notes From Abroad



On June 15 and 16, peace activists around the world took part in a chain of actions protesting the **nuclear build-up at sea**. Sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCMs, or "slickems," as they're known) received special attention. Canadians released balloons, lit bonfires and sailed boats near two major naval bases used by SLCM-capable ships. New Zealanders dropped a model Tomahawk cruise missile on the doorstep of the U.S. Embassy in Auckland. Thousands of Japanese marched in Tokyo. There were protests at harbors and naval bases in Italy. A rally in London featured the



flight of 4,000 balloons, representing the 4,000 (indistinguishable) nuclear and non-nuclear SLCMs being deployed by the United States. More bonfires flared in Danish harbors, and the port of Sydney, Australia, was invaded by a peace flotilla.

The actions were called by the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement and by the North Atlantic Network, which is holding its annual conference in Bergen, Norway, on August 22-25. In the days leading up to the weekend of protests, several Norwegian municipal councils banned nuclear-capable ships from their harbors—though their legal right to enforce their decision is uncertain.

• The peace movement's next major international focus is the **Non-Proliferation Treaty (N.P.T.) Review Conference** to be held in Geneva beginning on August 27. Various peace groups plan to use the conference to press for a Comprehensive Test Ban and to publicize the links between nuclear energy and nuclear weapons (see page 18). An Alternative Conference will be held in West Germany from September 6 to 8 to examine the country's role in spreading nuclear weapons. (Germany has exported nuclear technology to countries which have not signed the N.P.T., including Brazil, Argentina and South Africa.) The Swiss Peace Council and the Geneva Peace Committee have proposed an

"International Popular Tribunal" on N.P.T. issues. In Britain, peace movement representatives are meeting monthly with environmentalist organizations to develop a joint lobbying strategy for the British parliament. And the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society is setting up a center that will collect accurate information about nuclear tests as they take place and relay it quickly to peace groups.

• The 60,000 demonstrators who marched in Vancouver recently to prevent **Canadian participation** in "Star Wars" have every reason to be concerned. A spring deal between Canada and the United States provides for the upgrading of the old Distant Early Warning Line in northern Canada; landing strips for American interceptor planes; and facilities for the stationing of American AWAC planes. Described as a plan to "modernize" Canada's defense, the agreement will put in place the infrastructure for Canada's participation in the Strategic Defense Initiative. The U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee admitted as much in March, embarrassing the Canadian government.

• The **West German** parliament may soon debate a far-reaching civil defense bill. According to Dr. Ulrich Gottstein, a co-founder of the West German chapter of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, the bill would represent a serious infringement of civil liberties. Under the bill all new houses would have to include shelters; men over 18 who are not in the army would be conscripted into a civil defense corps (with a five-year jail sentence for deserters); and hospitals would have to submit their facilities and plans for coping with massive casualties to government inspection. The plans, Dr. Gottstein points out, are part of preparations for a nuclear war in which Germany would be the front line.

• In a letter to **British peace groups** about his recent academic visit to China, the historian and peace activist Edward Thompson notes that the Chinese government is planning to form a new organization to foster contacts with disarmament movements internationally. It may begin its work this summer following its recent international forum on disarmament in Beijing. China is officially in favor of disarmament, but claims that the United States and the Soviet Union must take the first step.

• **New Zealand's** Prime Minister David Lange has said that he will not meet with Secretary of State George Shultz during Shultz's Asian trip in July. Lange has stuck by his commitment to exclude ships that may be carrying nuclear weapons from New Zealand's ports in spite of economic pressure from the United States.

—Maria Margaronis

Ideas That Work

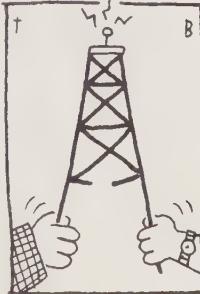


In the early 1980s, remarks emanating from the Reagan Administration about prevailing in a protracted nuclear war shocked many Americans into antinuclear activism. These days, the words from the White House, at least on nuclear issues, are considerably less strident. But what's lacking in rhetoric is being more than made up for in deed. Unbeknownst to most Americans, for example, the Pentagon is hard at work building GWEN.

GWEN stands for Ground Wave Emergency Network, a communications system designed to withstand the electromagnetic pulse (EMP) generated by high altitude nuclear explosions. With GWEN, the Pentagon says, military authorities will be able to communicate with bomber and missile bases after a nuclear exchange has taken place. Put more bluntly, it is a system whose main function is to help fight a prolonged nuclear war.

The Pentagon wants to build some 240 GWEN towers throughout the United States and Canada, at an estimated cost of \$122 million. And, in fact, the first phase of the GWEN system—nine towers in six states—was quietly completed in 1984. The towers were erected without public controversy in rural areas; three were installed on military bases, and at two of the sites the Air Force did not notify local authorities of the towers' function until after they were installed.

Things might have kept rolling right along had the Air Force not made one major mistake: It didn't take into consideration the political climate of a community when choosing GWEN sites. One of those sites was Amherst, Massachusetts, which in 1981 rejected crisis relocation planning, and in 1984 declared itself a nuclear free zone. For the past six months, GWEN has been at the center of passionate Amherst public debate—indeed, antinuclear activists say that it may be the best organizing device to come along in years. It illustrates, once again, how organizers can seize upon local developments not only to spur community resistance to the arms race, but to conduct outreach and education to



those not already involved.

Amherst first became alerted to GWEN in December, 1984, when someone working in the city's Land Office noticed Air Force officials nosing around in files. A call to a local reporter resulted in a newspaper piece on GWEN, which piqued the interest of several Amherst citizens. They began to do their own research on the system, and in a matter of weeks, the No-GWEN Alliance was formed.

The rest is history, neatly compiled in a packet by the Alliance. It tells of meetings with the Selectboard, which voted to reject GWEN, and county-wide hearings, one of which featured William Arkin, director of nuclear weapons research at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. Arkin has stated that GWEN's "only clear purpose is as one of a number of command, control and communications (C³) systems that lay the groundwork for World War IV." (Representatives from the Air Force and the Department of Defense backed out of appearing in a public forum with Arkin and subsequently had their own county hearings.) These events, which were always filled to overflowing, drew a barrage of radio, television and print coverage. Editorials in the local press prompted heated exchanges of letters. A pro-GWEN group, the Committee for Civic Responsibility, sprang up.

At a March 27 special town meeting, resolution protesting the construction of GWEN "in Amherst or anywhere" passed overwhelmingly. The resolution, which was mailed to President Reagan, Secretary of Defense Weinberger and key elected officials, also asked Congress to "initiate a thorough review of this network with the aim of cutting off funding for this and other programs which further the notion that we can fight and prevail in a nuclear war." And on May 9, the county commissioners voted to "urge that Congress subject GWEN to the kind of critical scrutiny that it has received in Hampshire County." A decision about the Amherst GWEN tower is still pending, although the Air Force has said that the community's willingness to accept GWEN will be "one of several criteria" that it will consider.

Can other targeted communities hope to meet Amherst's example? Anti-GWEN organizers say yes, and have compiled a wealth of information to help turn their opposition into a national no-GWEN campaign. "They may have the legal edge," says No-GWEN co-chair Lois Barber, referring to the Air Force's authority to override local objections to the system. "But they're going to meet a lot of resistance, and not just here." Barber adds that, even if the towers are

eventually built, communities that resist them will have accomplished much in the way of public education on U.S. military strategy.

Members of the No-GWEN Alliance are already in touch with people in Maine, California, and Wisconsin, where activists got their Senator, William Proxmire, to ascertain the exact location of the GWEN tower slated for their state. The sites below, compiled by the Nuclear Weapons Research Project at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., may be part of the GWEN grid. For organizing assistance, contact: The No-GWEN Alliance, PO Box 135, Amherst, MA 01004 (413) 584-8975.

—Renata Rizzo

Locations where GWEN is in place: Fayetteville, AR; Colby, Manhattan, KS; Ainsworth, Omaha, NE; Canton, OK; Clark, SD.

Locations where the government has leased or bought land for GWEN: Iowa City, Saint Marys, IA; Goodland, Topeka, KS; Castine, Sherman Station, ME; Onondaga, Turkey Bayon, MI; Alligator, MS; Great Falls, MT; Eugene, OR; Gettysburg, Harboreek, PA; Driver, VA; Spokane, WA; Mequon, WI.

Locations the Air Force has named as potential sites: Flagstaff, AZ; Bakersfield, Styx, CA; Columbus, MS; Billings, Ronan, MT; Grand Forks, Langdon, ND; Bellevue, Silver Creek, NE; Contreras NM; Klamath Falls, OR; Johnstown, PA; Windsor, VT; Wenatchee, WA.

Note: We have not listed GWEN sites on military bases.

If a nuclear holocaust happened.....

If you wanted to end your life because of radiation sickness.....

What are the practicalities of graceful self-deliverance?

Read

Let Me Die Before I Wake

By Derek Humphry \$10.00
From Bookstores
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Or mail-order (send \$11.50) to

Hemlock Society

(Non-profit)
P.O. Box 66218
Los Angeles, CA 90066
(213) 391-1871

Resources

BOOKS

Nuclear Battlefields, by William Arkin and Richard W. Fieldhouse. Q: Which state houses the most nukes? A: South Carolina—but there are probably more in your backyard than you think, and more in other countries than you imagine. The authors detail exactly what the nuclear fighting forces of each nuclear nation consist of, along with game plans of possible nuclear warfighting. The appendices are particularly interesting: They list exactly where nukes are deployed on each of the five nuclear powers' territory. Check the listing for your home state. (Ballinger, \$14.95 paperback.)

Counsels of War, by Gregg Herken. A Yale historian, author of *The Winning Weapon* (Knopf), a history of the nuclear age, looks at civilian analysts employed by think tanks like the Rand Corporation, government agencies, and universities, who have masterminded nuclear weapons development. The book is particularly important and timely since a new generation of young scientists and analysts is at work on Star Wars re-

search, and is lobbying energetically to escalate the arms race another step. (Knopf, \$18.95 hardcover.)

GUIDES

A Nuclear Trojan Horse: The Navy's Plan to Base Nuclear Weapons in New York Harbor, by Simeon A. Sahaydachny, chairman of the New York chapter of the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy. The recent arrival of the de-mothballed battleship *Iowa* in New York harbor signals the opening round of the Navy's plan to deploy cruise missiles there. This booklet outlines the risks represented by the *Iowa* task force, which will eventually number seven warships, the costs of an urban "broken arrow" (or nuclear accident) and what citizens can do to prevent their neighborhoods from going critical. (\$4, including postage, from Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027 212-222-5900.)

Nuclear Winter, the newsletter of the Center on the Consequences of Nuclear War. An excellent round-up of information calculated to encourage greater scientific and public understanding of the ecological consequences of any nuclear war. In addition to news of pertinent films, books, research reports and meetings, the Center also offers a

speakers' bureau of scientists and other experts available to discuss nuclear winter at conferences and teach-ins. (\$5 a year from the Center on the Consequences of Nuclear War, 1350 New York Avenue NW, Third Floor, Washington, DC 20005 202-393-1448.)

Choices for Puget Sound: Military Spending and Economic Health, by Sixth Sense. A group of activists in Washington State's Sixth Congressional District have made a study of one of the country's largest military-industrial complexes, and its impact on the local economy. They conclude that while defense contracts do mean money and jobs, "almost any other form of public or private spending will result in more jobs." An excellent model for groups planning similar assessment of their own areas. (\$4 from Sixth Sense, 2603 1/2 Sixth Avenue, Tacoma, WA 98406 206-272-5204.)

Your Career and Nuclear Weapons: A Guide for Young Scientists and Engineers, by the Santa Barbara Study Group, several post-doctoral research scientists at the Institute of Theoretical Physics of the University of California at Santa Barbara. At a time when one-third of all American scientists and one-half of all American physicists are engaged in defense work, this booklet is a noteworthy effort to provide young scientists

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"Weapons Bazaar": Hardware hard sell

with the facts about the nuclear arms race, and how it will affect their careers. (\$2, including postage, from Peace Resource Center of Santa Barbara, 331 North Milpas Street, #F, Santa Barbara, CA 93103 805-965-8583.)

Star Wars: Questions and Answers on the Space Weapons Debate. A concise, attractive 36-page Common Cause booklet which covers SDI, the ABM Treaty and ASATs in an authoritative, yet readable, way. (\$1 each, including postage and handling, from Common Cause Guides, 2030 M Street NW, Washington, DC 20036.)

Children, Adolescents and the Threat of Nuclear War: A thorough summary of studies, over the past 25 years, of the impact of possible nuclear war on young people. It describes the findings of leading American researchers and their counterparts in the Soviet Union, Finland, Canada and Sweden, and in many

cases compares the results. (Available for \$2.50 from one of the authors, Dr. Monica M. Eisenbud [of Harvard Medical School], 440 Lexington Street, Newton, MA 02166.)

SLIDE SHOWS

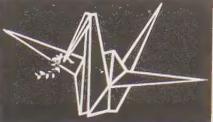
Just a Matter of Time, a 65-minute show of 211 slides, produced by the American Friends Service Committee, documents exhaustively how a nuclear warhead is made. Some 180 components are manufactured by hundreds of contractors and subcontractors. By picturing many of the facilities involved in weapons production, the show makes the point that nukes, and their attendant hazards of radioactive waste and contamination, are all around us. It describes particularly sloppy plants, like Colorado's Rocky Flats, and over a dozen citizen protest efforts. (\$15 rental from American Friends Service Committee, Chicago Area Office, 407 South Dearborn Street, Suite 370, Chicago, IL 60605 312-427-2533.)

Weapons Bazaar, a 28-minute show of 160 slides produced by Arthur Kanegis for the Center for Defense Information, and narrated by Admiral Gene R. LaRocque, comprehensively demonstrates the nature and influence of the military-industrial complex. It takes the viewer on a tour of the sales displays at the shows put on by the Army, Navy, and Air Force trade associations, and documents the "revolving-door" relationship between the Pentagon and the defense industry, the exorbitant prices that weapons contractors charge taxpayers, and the kinds of advertising ploys the industry uses to sell weapons systems that are frequently less than functional. (\$50 purchase, \$25 rental from the Center for Defense Information, 303 Capitol Gallery West, 600 Maryland Avenue SW, Washington, DC 20024 202-484-9490.)

FUNDING

Search for Security, by The Forum Institute. A must for any group interested in receiving foundation grants, this is the first comprehensive guide to the funders of antinuclear and international security projects. About half of the 225-page report describes the results of a survey of foundations and local and national groups, and analyzes current trends. (Good news: "There is an overwhelming consensus among funding institutions that they will remain involved in the field.") The second section offers indispensable profiles of 72 leading foundations, providing purpose, history, assets, grant range, deadline for applications—and, perhaps most importantly, address and telephone number. (\$45, including postage and handling, from The Forum Institute, 1225 15th Street NW, Washington, DC 20005.) □

Peace Crane Ceremony August 5



Hiroshima/Nagasaki Peace Coalition & Parents Against Nuclear Arms will hold a **Peace Crane Ceremony** in front of the White House with a replica of a statue from Hiroshima Peace Park — 'Cenotaph of the A-bomb Children.' Each anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing, thousands of Japanese children offer their

hope for peace and 'Never Again' in the form of a paper crane attached to the bell rope of the Cenotaph. You can support the building of the cenotaph and participate in the ceremony by purchasing a Peace Crane Kit. It includes a history of the Peace Crane and Cenotaph, instructions for making the Peace Crane and origami paper. Send \$3.00 to PANA, P.O. Box 2268, Virginia Beach, VA 23450.

SPECIAL MENTION

The Button, by Daniel Ford. Ford, a former executive director of the Union of Concerned Scientists and author of *The Cult of the Atom*, has researched the Pentagon's command and control system that is supposed to warn of a nuclear attack and coordinate retaliation. He reaches two disturbing conclusions: First, all of the United States' crucial command and control centers—even the "looking glass plane," the B-52 that is always in flight—could be knocked out by a Soviet first-strike. This, presumably, makes a first-strike more attractive for the Soviets and, in a crisis, might cause the United States to fire its missiles first (and ask questions later). Second, for its part, the American military machine "intends, if it has to fight at all, to strike first." Remarks to this effect by senior U.S. officials and military officers are chilling. Not just another technical look at C³I, this book is distinguished by its wonderful, on-the-scene reporting. (Simon & Schuster, \$18.95 hardcover.)

COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD

RESEARCH

To: All U.S. peace groups! From: A German student, working on study of peace movements. Please send newsletters, papers, info. material, etc. to: Rolf Langenhuisen, Krohnestrasse 7, 4190 Kleve 1, Federal Republic of Germany.

EDUCATION

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EMPLOYMENT

Director Philadelphia Nuclear Freeze. 2125 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, PA 19103. (215) 569-1974. Application Deadline: 7/15/85. Salary: \$12,000-\$15,000, negotiable.

GOOD READING

The People. Socialist biweekly covering major national/international developments. Since 1891. \$4.00/year, includes free pamphlet, "The Nuclear Winter" \$1.00/four months. **The People (NT)**, 914 Industrial Ave., Palo Alto, CA 94303.

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For info: **STRIKE FOR PEACE**, Box 810 Loomis, CA 95650. (916) 652-9056. Buttons and bumper stickers, 50¢ each. Stamps, .50 for \$1.

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NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

TEACHERS AND NUCLEAR ISSUES

A series of regional workshops will be held for teachers to address the unique difficulties involved in raising the nuclear question inside the classroom; sessions slated for **Seattle, WA (July 8-12); Boston, MA (July 8-19); and Madison, WI (July 20-21)**. Contact: Christy Burns, Educators for Social Responsibility, 23 Garden St, Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 492-1764.

CHILDREN'S CHAIN FOR PEACE

Japanese schoolchildren will receive thousands of drawings and messages from American children in August. To participate in this symbolic communication, draw a picture for peace (or "heiwa" in Japanese) on an 8" x 11" sheet of paper; print name and address on the reverse side. Replies are expected from Japan. Send drawings soon to: The Shosin Society, Ste 410, 1280 21 St NW, Washington, DC 20036.

SILENCE ONE SILO PEACE CAMP

Located near Minuteman III nuclear missile silo "Romeo-29," the goal of the camp is to initiate nuclear disarmament through the initial dismantling of a single missile silo; with actions and workshops planned **through Aug 11**. Contact: Silence One Silo Campaign, Box 9203, Missoula, MT 59807 (406) 721-3463.

NUCLEAR ARSENAL

From **Aug 1-17**, in Washington, D.C., Barbara Donachy will display her miniaturized American nuclear arsenal—all 33,000 ceramic pieces of it. Volunteers are needed to set it up on the

Calendar

National Mall near the Air and Space Museum. For more information, contact: Barbara Donachy, 2216 Race St, Denver, CO 80205 (303) 377-7998.

JULY 14

IOWA

• **Ankeny Handy Dandy**, a two-person play about civil disobedience; Des Moines area Community College. Contact: Stan Bench, Iowa Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 4211 Grand Avenue, Des Moines, IA 50312 (515) 274-4851.

JULY 16

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** Potluck supper with speakers, music, and theatre to commemorate the anniversary of "Trinity," the first atomic bomb test blast. Contact: Brandywine Peace Community, Asbury Ministry, 3311 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA (215) 554-1818.

JULY 19

NEBRASKA

• **Hastings** "Agape and Satyagraha: A Retreat on Nonviolence for the Tracks Campaign," a regional gathering to discuss the philosophy of nonviolence with Jim and Shelley Douglass of the

Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action; **through July 21**. Contact: Mary Anne Lucey, New Covenant Justice and Peace Center, 1717 Izard St, Omaha, NE 68102 (402) 345-0539.

RHODE ISLAND

• **Providence** A series of activities in opposition to the commissioning of the "USS Providence," a nuclear-armed submarine, including a protest at City Hall and a letter-writing campaign to Mayor Paolino. Buses will ship demonstrators to the Navy Sub Base at Groton, CT, on **July 27** for a nonviolent vigil. Contact: Rhode Island Mobilization for Survival, Box 2534, Providence, RI 02906 (401) 831-5854.

JULY 24

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Cambridge** Exhibit "Effects and Dangers of Nuclear War," created by Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), will be on display at Cambridge City Hall, **through Aug 14**. Contact: PSR, 19 Garden St, Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 497-7440.

JULY 28

NEW YORK

• **New York** The 5th Annual Symposium on Education and the Arms Race, "The Economics of the Arms Race: Human

Needs and Human Survival," featuring religious and civic leaders from national and international organizations; Teachers College, Columbia University. The symposium is the first event in the annual Institute on Peace Education; Manhattan College, Riverdale, **through Aug 3**. Contact: Peace Education, Box 171, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027.

AUGUST 3

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** "Legs vs Arms Race," foot and wheelchair race against weapons. Contact: Jeannette Raymond, Friends for a Non-Violent World, 1925 Nicollet S, Ste 101, Minneapolis, MN 55403.

AUGUST 10

MONTANA

• **Glacier Park** "Hands Across the Border," international gathering at the Waterton/Glacier International Peace Park, with initial gathering at Belly River Campground in Waterton Park, **through Aug 11**. Contact: Bill Stewart, PO Box 167, East Glacier, MT 59434 (406) 226-4412.

AUGUST 24

MASSACHUSETTS

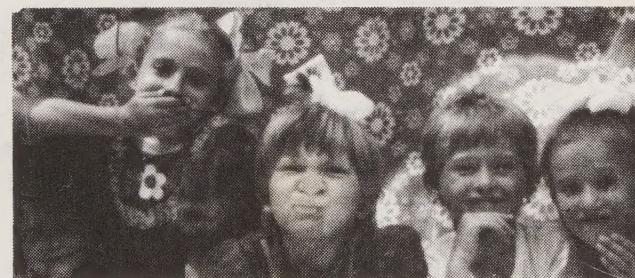
• **Stoughton** Annual national meeting of Student/Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War (STOP), with workshops, speakers, entertainment, and more; Packard Manse Conference Center, **through Aug 25**. Contact: STOP, 536 Beacon St, Boston, MA 02215 (617) 437-0035.

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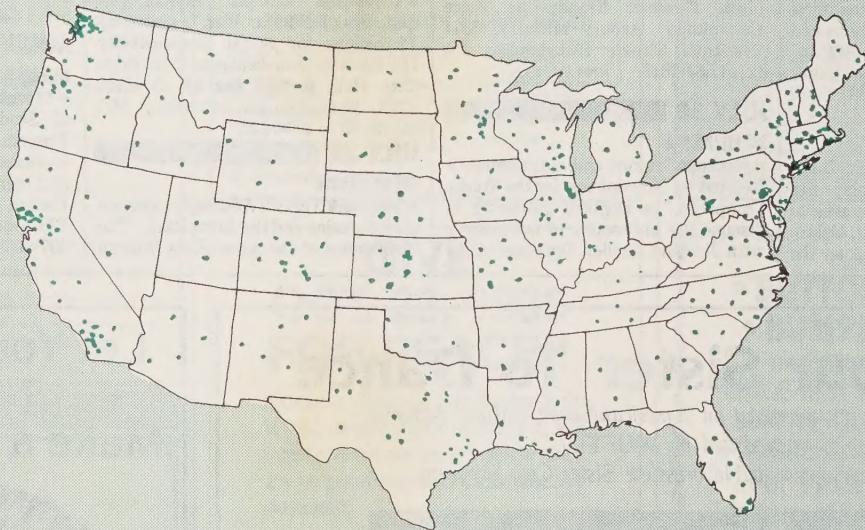
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